Y Cymmrodor.

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Y Cymmrodor.

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Lewis Morris in Cardiganshire.

By D. LLEUFER THOMAS.

As part of the gradual assimilation of Welsh legal institutions to those of England, a process which commenced immediately after the conquest of Wales by Edward I, the *cantrefi* and *cymydau* of the Principality came to be treated and regarded by English lawyers as the Welsh equivalents of the lordships and manors of England. English manorial law was applied to the ancient Welsh divisions, and the rights which the lord and free tribesmen of a cantref enjoyed under the Welsh laws were interpreted as far as possible in accordance with those of the lord and freeholders of an English manor. Among other doctrines thus applied to Wales was the presumption that all unenclosed land was the waste of the lordship or manor in which it was situated: the Crown, as the successor in title to the tribal, and therefore not strictly feudal, rights of the Welsh lords, claimed extensive tracts of unenclosed lands as waste of its various lordships; a claim strenuously opposed by most of the great landowners and freeholders, who on their part asserted that such lands, though unenclosed, were not common or waste at all, but formed part of their freehold estates. The chronic hostility which

existed between Welsh landowners and the Crown, with reference to this question, culminated from time to time in "pitched battles," fought either in the law-courts,[1] or more often in an appeal to physical force on the slopes of one of the mountains, the ownership of which was in dispute.

The more salient facts of several of these conflicts may be found collected and commented upon in the *Report of the Welsh Land Commission* (pp. 185-8, 199-207). But one of the earliest and most important seems to have hitherto escaped attention. As the official champion of the Crown rights on that occasion was none other than the bard and antiquary, Lewis Morris (*Llewelyn Ddu o Fôn)*, the story may probably be deemed of sufficient historical importance to be accorded space in the pages of *Y Cymmrodor*. The Welsh bard's great-grandson and namesake, Sir Lewis Morris, of Penbryn, has kindly placed in my hands, for perusal, a large collection of recently discovered papers in his ancestor's handwriting, including one hundred and twenty letters, addressed by Lewis to his brother William at Holyhead, between 1748 and 1762, but by far the greater number of them bearing date between 1753 and 1757 inclusive. The bundle also contains drafts or copies of answers and affidavits sworn in 1757 by Lewis Morris as defendant, in an equity suit instituted against him, by information of the Attorney-General, on behalf of the Treasury, praying *inter alia* that the defendant should be ordered to deliver an account of his stewardship of certain Crown manors in North Cardiganshire. In these answers, Lewis Morris discloses the fact

[1] As in the case of *The Attorney-General against Reveley*, heard in the Court of Exchequer in May 1868 and July 1869. A report of the case by W. W. Karslake was privately printed in 1870, for the use of the office of Woods and Forests.

that only a few years previously, even at the risk of his life, he had been the champion of the rights of the Crown in a dispute as to the ownership of a tract of unenclosed land in the same district.

In the following pages, I shall endeavour to tell the story of these two struggles so far as I am able to do so from the papers before me, and also bring out a few other facts relating to Morris's connection with Cardiganshire. The letters teem with literary material of very great interest and value, especially with reference to Goronwy Owen, and to the early history of the Cymmrodorion Society, which was founded in 1751. All this I have, reluctantly, to eschew at present, with the object of confining myself to the story of Lewis Morris's Cardiganshire struggles.

According to a statement supplied to the Welsh Land Commission by the Office of Woods and Forests, the Crown, in right of the seven hundreds or manors of Creüddyn, Perfedd, Mabwnion, Myfenydd, Harminiog, Cyfoeth y Brenin, and Talsarn and Silian, was in 1893 the owner of upwards of 26,000 acres of unenclosed waste land in the county of Cardigan, subject to commonable rights. In addition to this, it also possessed "the minerals within upwards of 28,000 acres of other land, formerly waste of the above manors, but which has either been sold or enclosed under Act of Parliament with a reservation to the Crown of minerals."

Originally, all the lands in question formed part of the ancient Principality of Wales, but on its conquest by Edward I, they became attached to the Crown of England. Along with much other Crown property in Mid Wales they were managed throughout the Tudor period by the Earls of Pembroke, who acted as Crown Stewards. According to a petition presented to Parliament on behalf of

their freeholders in 1660, the Cardiganshire manors had been alienated by the Commonwealth in 1649,—

"thereby becoming the possessions of private men, particularly of Thomas Evans, Henry Vaughan, John Vaughan,[1] and others, who using their jurisdiction with more rigour than your Petitioners or Predecessors were formerly acquainted with, by excessive amercements, fines, and threats, extorting your Petitioners' Voices at Publick Elections, and a conformity to their will and pleasure, many times contrary to your Petitioners' judgments and inclinations."

In view of these grievances, the petitioners prayed that the manors in question should be re-united to the Crown, which was effected shortly afterwards, as a natural sequel of the Restoration.

And now to come to Lewis Morris's own period. In 1746 the stewardship of several, perhaps all, of the crown manors in Cardiganshire was granted to William Corbett. Most probably he was a younger brother of Thomas Corbett, who was an Admiralty official from about 1720, filling the post of Secretary of the Admiralty from 1742 till his death in 1751. What suggests this to me is the fact that it was through Thomas Corbett's interest (secured through the good offices of Meyrick of Bodorgan) that Lewis Morris was commissioned, in 1741, to complete the survey of St. George's Channel, a work commenced in 1737, but not proceeded with, owing to the scant encouragement that Morris had received in the matter. The Secretary's brother, William Corbett, commenced his career as secretary to Viscount Torrington in the Baltic expedition in 1717, and subsequently became

[1] "Of Peterwell, Plâs Cilcennin, and Trawscoed respectively (see Meyrick's *Cardiganshire*, 208, 285, 322). According to a MS. written *circ.* 1661, John Vaughan (who subsequently became Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas) "purchased Mevenyth, one of his late Majesty's manors." When this was re-united to the Crown at the Restoration, Vaughan was made steward of Myfenydd and four other Crown manors in the district.

cashier of the Navy.[1] Lewis Morris's younger brother, Richard, who became a chief clerk in the Navy office, probably owed his introduction into that department to his elder brother's connection with the Corbetts.

When the stewardship of the Crown manors was granted to William Corbett in 1746, Lewis Morris was appointed deputy steward,[2] then, and for some years after also holding the office of Collector of the Customs at Aberdovey. The new office necessitated his settling in the district. His brother William, in a letter to Richard (dated 10 May 1746, and preserved at the British Museum), conveys the news that Lewis had recently purchased "part of an estate situated in such a place that I would not have accepted it gratis to live upon it. No doubt he has some inducement, *mwyn neu rywbeth*", minerals or something. This probably referred to Galltfadog, a farm

[1] See *Dictionary of National Biography*, under Thomas Corbett. According to Burke, whose account of the family is in many respects unreliable, William the cashier was the third son of a William Corbett, by Eleanor, daughter and co-heir of Colonel John Jones, of Nanteos, Cardiganshire (cf. Meyrick's *Cardiganshire*, pp. 402, and 572-5). Burke erroneously describes William, the father, as "Secretary of the Admiralty"—but that office was held not by him but by his eldest son Thomas—and states that he was the son of Thomas Corbett of Nash, Pembrokeshire, who was second son of Robert Corbett (himself a younger son of Sir Vincent Corbet, of Moreton Corbet, Salop), by Bridget, daughter and heiress to Sir James Pryse, of Ynys y maengwyn, near Towyn. There were also later inter-marriages between the Nanteos family and the Corbets of Ynys y maengwyn, both the Rev. W. Powell, LL.D. (1705-1780), and his son Thomas (? 1745-1797) marrying ladies from the latter family (*Meyrick*, 388-9, 403). In any case, William Corbett, the navy cashier, had family connections with West Wales, especially North Cardiganshire, and this corroborates the identification I suggest. From him the Corbetts of Darnhall, in Cheshire, are descended. A daughter of Lewis Pryse, of Gogerddan (who died in 1720), was married to a Corbet, whose Christian name Meyrick (p. 398) does not give.

[2] This is the date given by Morris himself in his history of the Crown manor of Creuthyn, printed in Meyrick's *Cardiganshire* (see p.

some five miles out of Aberystwyth.[1] Lewis was not long before taking up his residence there, for he dates a letter (also in the British Museum) to Richard from Galltfadog on 31 July 1747, in which he says: "I expect Mr. Corbett and some great men here daily, and am very busy in drawing maps, accounts, &c." Shortly afterwards, a friend of the brothers Morris, Alderman Prichard, saw Lewis in Cardiganshire, "in company of Mr. W. Corbett and Mr. Chambers, to whom he gave great satisfaction."

Now Corbett's interest in the minerals of the district was not merely official. He and a Charles Richards had obtained a lease of "all mines within the wastes of the manor of Cwmwd y Perfedd, in the parish of Llanbadarn Fawr," at a rent of 6*s.* 8*d.* a year, and one-tenth of the

558), though according to a letter of 17 Aug. 1745 (preserved in the Brit. Mus.) from William Morris to Richard, Lewis had a short time previously been made "Dŷ (deputy) steward of all the King's Courts in these parts, with an extensive power and tolerable profit."

[1] "In the year 1700, Sir H. Mackworth took a lease of Margaret Lewis, of Gallt-vadog, and of her son, R. Lewis, of the mines upon certain hills, moors, or places called Pwll yr Enaid, Bwlch cwm ervin, and Ryginan, for 99 years, in consideration only of £50 in hand. They had also a lease of Cwmsymlog, and worked there for some years" (*Meyrick*, p. ccxxxiii). Did Morris purchase Mackworth's interest under these leases? On acquiring the property Morris at once proceeded to carry out some improvements on it. His farm bailiff and factotum, Edward Hughes, writing from Galltfadog on 14 Oct. 1748, to Morris himself, who was then in London (attending *inter alia* to the printing of his Survey of St. George's Channel) refers to the new garden he was laying out. On 16 Feb. 1749, Morris writes to William from Galltfadog, mentioning that he had pulled down the house there "in order to make it more comfortable." This was also preparatory to his bringing there a wife, for on the 20th of October in the same year, he married (for his second wife) Ann Lloyd, described as "heiress of Penbryn." She went to live at Galltfadog, but in April 1757 (her husband being at the time in London), the family removed to Penbryn (sometimes called by Morris, probably in jest, Penbryn y barcud), which is about eight miles out of Aberystwyth.

profits.[1] As the usual term for mineral leases was thirty-one years, and this one expired on 12 July 1773 (when it was not renewed) it probably commenced to run from July 1742.

In 1748, Corbett was vigorously working Cwmsymlog mine, possibly under the above mentioned lease from the Crown. It was probably in August of that year that a Cornish mining expert, Edmond Moore, visited the mine and reported on it to him.[2] At that time the resident manager was John Paynter (of whom a good deal hereafter), while Edward Hughes, already referred to as Morris's factotum, was next in command under Paynter. Hughes seems to have been some relative, or at least an old acquaintance, of the Morrises from Anglesey, and like them had literary tastes (which he however drowned in drink), Iorwerth Fwynwr and Iorwerth Frych being *nom de plumes* of his. Hughes continued at Cwmsymlog till the end of 1752, if not later.

Some of the landowners of the district seem to have resisted the lessees, in the exercise of their rights. This resulted in a suit being instituted in 1743, by the Attorney-General, on behalf of the Crown and its lessees, Charles Richards and William Corbett, against Thomas Pryse (probably the then M.P. for Cardiganshire), Thomas Griffiths and others. Unfortunately the records of this suit are now lost. So also are those of another contemporary local action, the Attorney-General *v.* Thomas Powell (of Nanteos), R. Jenkin and others. As deputy steward, Lewis Morris had doubtless to take an active part in pre-

[1] *See* Returns relating to the Woods, Forests and Land Revenues of the Crown, 1831, p. 22.

[2] It may be that the year of Moore's visit was 1752, but a statement in Meyrick's *Cardiganshire* (p. 558) suggests that William Corbett had died in or before 1751.

paring the case for the Crown in both suits, and this did not tend to make him a *persona grata* with the county gentry, who felt that their rights were being invaded.

The second action, in which, we know, the Crown was defeated, arose out of a dispute as to the ownership of a mine called Bwlchgwyn, situated on unenclosed land, which the Crown claimed as common of its manor of Perfedd, while Thomas Powell, on the other hand, claimed it as his own freehold. Unfortunately only two documents relating to it—both in a very torn condition and neither of them dated—are included among the papers before me.[1] The first is a list (in Lewis Morris's writing) of

"The Freeholds in the neighbourhood of Bwlchgwyn Mine whose tenants have always made use of the lands where the mine stands, as well as of all the mountains adjoining as a Common, have cut turf on the mountain as a common over against their tenements as customary, and those that had no wood growing on their lands made use of ye wood of Alltrudd as a common, and have always turned their cattle to graze on the common, as belonging to the tenants of the Manor of Pervedd and not to any other person."

The freeholds enumerated are Llwynteifi (? uchaf and isaf), Brynbras uchaf and isaf, and Troed y llwybr clun. There are added "proofs" of such evidence as could be given by the more aged persons who then were, or had been tenants or servants at these farms. On the back of this sheet are also the "proofs" of some seventeen

"Cottagers upon the Common of the Mannor of Pervedd, some miles distant from the common in dispute, and on the other side the great river Rheidol, that have for many years, according to ancient custom, cut House Boot, &c., in the wood called ye Allt Rudd near Bwlch gwyn mine, being always accounted part of the common of the Mannor of Perveth."

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[1] Further particulars concerning this suit, as well as to other matters which brought Morris into conflict with the county gentry, may be gleaned from Morris's History of the Crown Manor of Creuddyn, printed in Meyrick's *Cardiganshire*, p. 565.

There is also a memorandum to the following effect :—

"Very few of the Persons that are material evidences for the King about Bwlch gwyn mines will care to speak their minds unless forced thereto, for fear of disobliging Mr. Powell, Mr. Parry, &c."

In order to obtain the necessary evidence, some of those who had been concerned in what may be called acts of ownership in connection with the land in dispute are called upon to answer interrogatories, one set of which, *translated into Welsh*, forms the only other document now before me relating to this suit. The case set up by the Crown appears to have been somewhat as follows :—

A short time previously a mine had been discovered on Bwlch gwyn, which was the name of that portion of a large tract of unenclosed mountain land adjoining and lying over against a farm called Pen-y-berth, owned by Thomas Powell, and occupied by Richard Thomas Pugh as his tenant. A boundary fence, erected apparently by or on behalf of the "brinkers", separated this unenclosed land (including Bwlch gwyn) from the freehold farms that surrounded it. By a customary arrangement agreed to, or sanctioned by, the tenants of the lordship of Perfedd, each "brinker" "claimed" the exclusive use of that portion of the mountain which lay over against his own tenement, and such portion was designated—So-and-So's "liberty of pasture" ("liberty *pori*"). Bwlchgwyn, on which the mine was situated, was recognised as the "liberty" of Pen-y-berth. Each individual "brinker" would also drive away, though he would never impound, the sheep or cattle of any other "brinker" that might come to graze on his own "liberty." All unclaimed animals or Estrays (*Diarddel*) found on this mountain had to be delivered up to such person as had a grant of the Estrays of the lordship from the Crown under a lease. The plaintiff Powell however had, at some time or other, set up a claim to "some lord-

ship in the commote of Perfedd," the public proclamation of which by a crier he had procured. A nominee of his had also been directed to collect the Estrays on Bwlchgwyn.

These papers, as I have said, are undated, but the suit had probably been determined before 1750, "Powell carrying the cause in the Exchequer against the Crown." That Morris was blamed for the Crown's interference may be inferred from a letter (draft of which is before me) written by him early in 1750 to Gwyn Vaughan,[1] then a Commissioner of the Customs. Though the exact import of the first part of the communication is not apparent, I think it better to give it without any curtailment.

"Galltvadog, near Aberystwyth,
"Feb. 1, 1750.

"HOND. SIR,—

"I recd. your kind favour of ye 29th Dec. in due time, and a few days ago I recd. ye Deputation from my Lord Lincoln,[2] one of which I herewith return executed by me. The distemper among ye cattle in England occasioned ye delay, for ye Carriers are not allowed to travel ye road.

"I have deferd answering yours till now in Expectation of seeing James James whom you had recommended, but he hath not yet called here, though I hear he hath letters for me, nor have I had an opportunity of going [there] to Dovey, but intend to go soon if he doth not

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[1] He was of Jordanston, Pembrokeshire, being probably a son of Lewis Vaughan of that place (High Sheriff of Pembrokeshire for 1717) by Grace, daughter of Thomas Johnes of Llanfair Clydogau. Two members of the same family, probably son and grandson of the Commissioner, were Sheriffs in 1799 and 1813 (Allen, *Sheriffs of Pembrokeshire*). The Commissioner (who was a member of the Cymmrodorion Society) died 20 March 1758. He has been erroneously identified (W. R. Williams, *Parl. Hist. of Wales*, p. 19; *Byegones* for 13 Mar. 1901, p. 54) with a namesake—who was the eldest son of Wm. Gwynn Vaughan, of Trebarried (M.P. for Brecknockshire 1721-1744). He is referred to by William Morris in a letter to Richard quoted in *Byegones*, loc. cit.

[2] Henry Clinton, 9th Earl of Lincoln, whose wife was Catherine, eldest daughter and heiress of Henry Pelham. He inherited in 1768

come and see me. I shall do him all the service in my power, and you shall hear from me.

"[As for Gower's affair] I expect daily to hear from Mr. Reade with a Rent Roll [of my Lord's Estate], and till then I can do nothing in my Lord Lin(col)n's affairs.

"As for ye Grant of Waives and Estrays, if you are concerned in it, I shall give you all the assistance I am able, to bring it into order, but if Mr. Johnes is concerned in it, I shall not care to meddle in it unless you'll lay your commands upon me, for he hath not used me as he ought. I had some busines with Mr. Powell ye other day at Nanteos, when he and his brother the clergyman could not help complaining what a cruell thing it was of ye Government to fall upon a private Gentleman as they had done upon him, and that it was wicked in me to be concerned against him for he was sure no body else would; all the answer I made was, that I was but a servant of ye Government's, and it was very hard the King should not have ye same privilege of defending his right as a private man had. I asked him whether he allowed the King had any property in this Country, to which he replyed, that he had much less than I imagind.

"In short the Insolence of these people is Intolerable, and I am sure that if some care be not immediately taken, about the King's rights in Wales, it will be all sunk in a few years. I wish his Majesty knew as well as I do the consequence this loss will be to him.

"I am Sir,

"Your most obligd & obedt. humble servant,

"L. M."

"G. Vaughan, Esq.

"I am told Mr. Powell is now about purchasing the Tythes of Cardiganshire of Mr. Chichester.[1] It is an Estate of about £700 a year, and will give him such a power here that there will be no living

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the Dukedom of Newcastle, on the death of the Countess's uncle, Thomas Pelham, who had been created Duke of Newcastle-under-Lyme, with special remainder to the Earl of Lincoln. Henry Pelham and (still more so) his brother, the 1st Duke, figure largely in Morris's correspondence.

[1] John Palmer Chicester, of Arlington Court, Devon, whose mother, Catherine, was buried in the church of Llanbadarn. Their grandson was High Sheriff of Cardiganshire for 1831. The tithes of Llanfihangel Genau'r Glyn and a moiety of those of Gwnnws belonged to the Chichester family (*Meyrick*, 304, 384, 430).

for any man but his creatures. If you or your friends have any inclination for such a purchase, I believe I can send for a full account of that Estate, but cannot at present find the papers.—I am, &c."

From what has already been said, it may be seen that the advent of Lewis Morris into Cardiganshire was coincident with a considerable revival of activity in the mining industry of that part of the country.

In 1747, he set some miners to open an old drowned work known as Nant y Creiau in Llanbadarn Fawr. The Crown agreed to grant a lease of it to John Vaughan, a London merchant, who assigned his rights to Owen Meyrick. In September 1751, Powell of Nanteos, perceiving that it was not being worked by the Crown, set some miners to work it, but Morris threatened to prosecute them and they discontinued. Morris subsequently restarted it on behalf of the Crown a few years later, but in the meantime, that is, in 1751, he or his servants had discovered rich deposits of lead ore at Esgair y mwyn in the upper parcel of the parish of Gwnnws, and in the lordship (or manor) of Myfenydd, or broadly speaking about half-way between Strata Florida and Ysbytty Ystwyth. It was fully twenty miles from his home at Galltfadog, being separated from it by the Rheidol and Ystwyth, both often impassable in rainy weather, and by the very formidable spur of Plinlymon which forms the watershed between these two rivers. But despite the inhospitable nature of the region he had to traverse in order to reach the mine, Morris seems to have paid close attention to its development. In his capacity of Crown Steward he let it for the term of one year, from 1 July 1751, to three working miners (Evan Williams, John and David Morgan) at the rent of 10s. for every ton of ore raised. Some three months later, Morris himself and another person for his use entered into partnership with the three bargain-takers for the

remainder of their term, taking care to inform the Treasury of the transaction, which, as Morris subsequently alleged, was entered into "in order the better to secure the mine from several riotous persons who had a view to taking it by force, which they afterwards compass'd."

Meyrick, in his *History* of the county (p. ccxli), states, on what authority I know not, that during that year the partners "cleared about £1,300 each." The duty (at the rate of 10*s.* per ton) which Morris charged himself as having received was £500 3*s.* 9*d.*, representing a total of 1,000 tons of ore raised. When in the subsequent litigation Morris was pressed for a detailed account of the receipts and disbursements for the year, his reply, as given in some memoranda, probably prepared for his counsel, was that

"the accounts for the year 1751 were private accounts between the partners who paid the Crown a duty per Ton, the partners being in a manner illiterate, and each keeping accts. on sticks or stones. No regular account was kept, all being concern'd in the expense of raising the ore and in the management. Therefore the Crown had nothing to do with *their private expenses* for raising the ore, and was only to receive the duty agreed upon; and they were apprehensive that if they could have produced any manner of an account of their expenses in raising that ore that the officers of the Crown would have taken it into their heads to charge them with the whole profits, especially as Mr. Sharpe [the Solicitor to the Treasury] and others had hinted that I had no authority to set that Bargain, and we look'd upon giving up those private accounts to be examin'd by the Crown to the giving up their right to that year's bargain, and it certainly would have been so; and I would have been charg'd with the whole year's profits."

After the expiration of the year's lease the Treasury, however, appointed Morris, on 15th July 1752, Agent and Superintendent of the Esgair y mwyn mine, and "all other mines which he had then discovered or should discover" on the wastes or commons of the Crown Manors in the counties of Cardigan and Merioneth. He

at once applied himself with characteristic energy to the development of the mine, for during the remainder of 1752, and before he could dispose of the ore raised in the interval, he "expended over and above the duty which he had received for ye Crown, many large sums of money of his own, in workmen's wages, and otherwise." But the owners of the freeholds adjoining the mine were not going to submit tamely to what they considered to be sheer confiscation of their property by the Crown, and several of the parties interested, including Lord Lisburn, Powell of Nanteos, and two brothers, John and David Williams (owners of Llwyn-y-mwyn and Cilfach-y-rhew which adjoined Esgair y mwyn), joined forces with the view of contesting the title set up by the Crown.

In anticipation of their attempting to dispossess him by some legal process, Morris wrote on 19 Feb. 1753 to one Thomas Evans, a London Attorney,[1] enclosing a copy of his Commission from the Treasury, and requesting him to obtain an opinion as to his position from "any eminent Council except ye Attorney-General, and except also such persons that you may suspect will be employ'd by my adversaries." The questions which he submitted in the letter were as follows:—

1. "Whether an Injunction from any Court of Law can or ought to stop me in working these mines for ye Crown? It would be a hard case upon me, after laying out my money in raising ore by virtue of the said Commission, to be obliged to stop and take off the King's miners that are in possession, only upon a false affidavit, pretending we commit waste on a freehold. If they could get an Injunction, I loose ye possession of course, and about the value of £6,000 in ore ready raised. . .

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[1] He was a native of Anglesey. His name appears in the list of members of the Cymmrodorion Society for 1759, his offices being then in the Inner Temple.

2. "If I am serv'd with a supœna to answer a bill in Chancery for being a forcible detainer of a freehold, &c., what answer can I make, as I work it under the above Commission for ye Crown? Am I to recite my Commission in answer?

"I have worked ye mine by ye directions of ye officers of ye Crown since June 1751, without any claim or disturbance from the person that just now claims, and so far was he from claiming, that he assisted to carry on the mine and received pay, &c., and often declared to several persons he had no right there."

The first step which the claimant or claimants however took was to take possession of the mine by force.

On the 23rd of February 1753, two of the county magistrates, with the sheriff or his deputy, and "a mob of several hundred arm'd and tumultuous people," came to the banks of the mine and threatened not only the life of Lewis Morris, whom they regarded as the author of all the mischief, but also "the lives of his agents and miners on refusal to deliver up the possession of the mine," and further to enforce their threats, "one of the ringleaders, a Justice of the Peace, presented a cock'd pistol" at Morris's head, "and threaten'd to shoot him, while the rest surrounded him with firearms," and, seizing him, carried him a prisoner to Cardigan Gaol.[1] He remained there in confinement till the 4th April, when the Lord Chief Justice (Lee) admitted him to bail, on his own recognizances, to appear later at the King's Bench, when the question of title between the Crown and the claimants would come on for trial in the Exchequer Court.

Meanwhile, one John Ball (who figured largely in subsequent years), managed the mine for Powell of Nanteos, and "carryd away the King's ore". It was not long, however, before an order was made for the re-delivery of possession to the Crown pending the trial. Immediately

[1] Here he had a strange dream, which he reported to his brother in a letter of 1 Nov. 1757.

on his release, Lewis Morris proceeded to London in order to assist in the preparation of the case for the Crown. The following draft of a letter written by him from "Tavistock Court, 4th May 1753," to Gwyn Vaughan, shows how things were going at the time.

"Hon'd Sir,—

* * * * *

"I have a letter this post from Mr. Johnes of Abermaide (the Justice that gave repossession of the mine to ye Crown with Lord Lisburn) wondering that Herbert Lloyd hath not been discharged from all offices under the Crown, and desiring to know whether anything is intended to be done against the two Justices for their behaviour at Esgair y mwyn. If not, he hints as if he himself would article against them.

"I have also a letter giving me an account that Mr. Evan Lloyd, who is Mr. Johnes of Lanvair the Custos's Agent, hath given Wm. Jones, one of ye Crown's under-agents at Esgair y mwyn, a private caution not to go near Aberystwyth or in ye way of ye rioters, for that he and other persons that he named are to be destroy'd if they can be found in a convenient place for that purpose.

"My orders for the work to go on was not arrived when these letters came off.

"P.S.—Mr. West[1] seemed to think it impracticable to advance me any money here to carry on the mine. If I am allow'd to go into the country and [be] properly protected there, with a military force, so that we may do our duty in safety, and that an example is made as soon as possible of some of ye rioters to check ye rest, there will be no occasion for ye public money, and I am far from desiring to finger any of them or meddle with them. I shall not think any future risque of my own money and credit too great if I was sure that I serve my Lord Lincoln. But if I am detained here and the mine carried on at my expence and that I don't know for whose Benefit I do this, perhaps for my very enemies, and that the people by me employ'd are in danger of their lives every minute as above mentioned, I think it is a situation that no man living would desire to be in."

On the 27th of June Morris attended "the Board of Treasury," when the First Lord, Henry Pelham, "in the presence of others of the lords", told him that he should have a settled salary as Agent and Superintendent of the

[1] Secretary to the Treasury.

mines, and it would have saved some future difficulty for Morris had the amount of the salary been then fixed. Some time afterwards, when Morris suggested £500, both the Secretary and Solicitor (West and Sharpe) thought it reasonable, but still later an attempt was made to disallow his salary altogether. Reverting to the chronological order of events, we find that early in August, Morris was able to report to his brother William at Holyhead that he had already overcome several of his opponents, and "the Esgair-y-mwyn Justices were struck out of their Commissions." In a letter of the 18th of August, he gives us a peep at the intriguing that was then going on with reference to the future disposition of the mine.

"Mr. Pelham is just come to town from Scarborough, and is now at Greenwich, considering upon this affair how to do for the best, *iddo ei hun ai deulu, ag nid i neb arall*"—that is, what is best for himself and his family and not for any others. And then he continues, in Welsh (into which his letters generally glide when he has anything very confidential to communicate)—"The Duke of Cumberland opposes Pelham with all his might in elections, and in everything else, and refuses to send soldiers to protect the Cardiganshire mine. So it is likely the King will have to be approached in the matter, for he is the sledge hammer to drive the nail home. The Duke says it is much fitter that the King's son rather than Pelham's son should have a lease of Esgair-y-mwyn."

Dr. Hampe, the Princess of Wales's German physician, and "a great mineralist," whose acquaintance Morris had made, was advising him to send some specimens of the ore to the King, who would be highly pleased to receive some from "his Welsh mines," but "perhaps I had better not, lest I offend Harri [Pelham]" is Morris's cautious conclusion. It would seem that the Earl of Powis was also

at this time trying to obtain a lease of the mine for himself, as he must, I think, be the nobleman[1] mysteriously referred to by Morris—again under the cover of Welsh in the same letter—"An Earl was in my chambers privily this morning. May God grant that it may come to pass as he and I intend that it should, then we can help our friends."

During the five months that Morris spent in London on this occasion, his time seems to have been pretty fully occupied, what between "drawing and obtaining affidavits from the King's witnesses in London and the country, assisting to search the records in the Tower and at the Rolls Chapel, defending ejectments and attending his Majesty's counsel in the cause till a feigned issue was agreed upon." The actual fight in the Law Courts was thus deferred till the ensuing judicial year. On his return to Cardiganshire, Morris found much to require his attention at home, and though usually a regular and voluminous

[1] This identification is confirmed by the fact that Morris in a subsequent letter (23 Oct.) refers to the Earl of Powis as being at that time a "supplicant" of his, and that the mine was in fact eventually leased to the Earl. It is also clear from the same letter that the "friend" whom Morris was most anxious to help was the poet Goronwy Owen, whose claims to clerical preferment he kept constantly bringing to Lord Powis's notice. The Earldom of Powis was at this time held by Henry Arthur Herbert (d. 11 Sept. 1772, aged 70), who inherited the Powis estates on the death, unmarried, in March 1748, of his kinsman William, 3rd Duke of Powis, and who was created Earl of Powis 27th May of the same year. Three years later (30 March 1751) he married Barbara, sole daughter of Lord Edward Herbert, only brother of the last Marquis. As her family was Roman Catholic, his Protestant, it was arranged that the eldest son and daughter by the marriage should be brought up as members of the Church of England, and the younger children in their mother's religion. They had only one son, George (1755-1801)—who succeeded his father as 2nd Earl—and three daughters, two of whom died in infancy, so that the Powis family thus ceased to be Roman Catholic.

correspondent, he could scarcely find time to write to his brother William, "being extreem busy setting things in order." Though there was probably less open violence, the animosity of the contending parties had increased in bitterness, and the Crown Agent described himself (on 28 Sept.) as being "in a continual state of war, law, squabbles, wrangling, enough to make the dullest fellow in ye world rouse his spirits, and to make a man of spirit mad." In addition to the mines, he had to attend occasionally to custom-house affairs at Aberdovey, where "they riot a little now and then, break our windows and threaten our officers, etc." On one of these visits he gathered shells for Lady Lincoln, and recommended his brother William to do the same—"and I will tell you how to make the shells your friends by recommending you to great folks" (Letter dated 23 Oct. 1753).

Besides his official cares he had also his own private troubles and anxieties: when he was at last able to get away from London, he hurried home "by forced marches," on a newly-bought mare, so as to be in time for the opening of the Great Sessions on September 1st, at Cardigan, where there was set down for hearing a lawsuit as to some property of his wife's known as the Cwmbwa estate.[1] His infant daughter, Jane, died on the 23rd October; while Eleanor, his second daughter by his 1st wife, was on the point of getting married, and before the year was out settled with her husband (Richard Morris) at Mathafarn,

[1] The suit was not, however, tried out at Cardigan. Morris was "advised to suffer judgment at common law, having no chance to try it in Cardiganshire"—he seemed to fear the Under Sheriff's partiality in empanelling a jury—"and (writes he on 31 Jan. 1754) have filed a cross bill since". This was done so as to remove the cause into Chancery. "Troubles enough of all conscience, and not a friend to help me!"

near Machynlleth.[1] But he never lost courage, or, at all events, there is nothing but a cheery optimism in all letters.

After much delay, the military arrived in order to protect the mines and miners, for on Dec. 1st, he reports himself as being then busy quartering them in proper places.[2] On that very day, too, good news reached him from London:—

"We have given our enemies another fall this term, and drove them off the walls again till next term, when no doubt they will make another attempt upon us. Some of our greatest managers above are my enemies also, which is a sad situation. But they could not help giving it under their hands by last post, that I had [done ?] very great things, in drawing myself ye affidavits of 16 men and so much to ye purpose as to defeat our opponents."

What his "enemies" seem at this time to have aimed at, above all else, was utterly to destroy his credit, and the steps which he took to defend himself in this respect are indicated in another letter written from Galltvadog, 14 Dec. 1753, to his brother William:—

"I find it necessary to provide against next term some affidavits from the county of Anglesey, to guard against some malignant and spiteful affidavits that have been filed against me last term, in order

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[1] "My wife is returned from Mathafarn and praises the place much, and the neighbourhood, *pobl ddiniweidtiach a mwy cymdogol na Sir Aberteifi.* I have apply'd for a lease for R.M. for Mathafarn in Sir W[atkin] W[ynn]'s family after the most prudent manner I could." (Letter of 1 Dec. 1753.)

[2] Dr. Thomas Rees, in his vol. on South Wales in *Beauties of England and Wales* Series (1813), referring to Esgair-y-mwyn says (p. 414):—"The late Lord Lisburne claimed it, but Government sent down a party of Scots Greys under the command of the Custos Rotulorum, the late Thomas Johnes, Esq., who took possession of it for the Crown. The Duke of Newcastle, while Minister, granted a lease of it to the late Earl of Powis's father. This lease has been long expired, and it is now worked on sufferance."

to throw dirt on my character, and to insinuate that I was but of a mean family and very little or no fortune, and not to be trusted with such a great concern as the mine in dispute, with abundance of venomous stuff of that kind; praying that a new receiver might be appointed and that I might be called to an account. The chief part of their requests were denied by ye Court, but I suspect they will make a fresh attack the first day of next term, by filing more affidavits to ye same purpose, for they now know what answers I have sent from hence to their last attack; and that those are not from my native country."

He then proceeds to name some Anglesey people who might be asked to assist him in the manner suggested, and encloses drafts for their use. But there was no time to be lost, for the affidavits had to reach the Solicitor to the Treasury in London "by ye 19th or 20th [of February] at furthest, to be copied and briefs drawn to Council against ye first day of Term."[1] Some excellent affidavits, "very bitter and biting", were got ready, but the motion did not come on on the first day of Term as expected. "I should be extream glad", says Morris, however, "if our affidavits were read in Court, for they would expose them [his opponents] with a vengeance."

But the defence of his own character was not the only legal work which devolved upon him. The Treasury officials relied almost entirely upon him for the necessary evidence to establish the right of the Crown to the mine, and Morris must have been more than fully occupied during the earlier months of 1754 in interviewing likely witnesses, and in taking down proofs of their testimony:— "I shall be extream busy, and don't expect a night's easy rest till the month of June, however things will turn out",

[1] On 24 Dec. 1753, he wrote to William another letter, to the same effect. This is not included in the collection before me, but appears to have come into the possession of Chancellor D. Silvan Evans, who supplied a copy of it to Myrddinfardd, in whose *Adgof Uwch Anghof* (1883) it is printed (p. 4).

was what he wrote to his brother William on the last day of January, and, as it happens, the 8th of July is the date of the next letter of his which is preserved in this collection, though most probably the correspondence between the brothers was not wholly suspended in the interval. Belonging to this period, however, is a small memorandum book, inscribed "Witnesses examinati[ons]," originally containing (according to its table of contents) the proofs of ten witnesses, though only those of seven are now preserved in it, all of which is in Morris's own handwriting. When the time came for him to proceed to London for the trial he was accompanied by "near four score witnesses" from the country, and those whose names are given in this book are numbered 18 to 26, and 50. I think it is well to reproduce *in extenso* at least two of the proofs thus preserved, as they disclose to us the nature of the evidence on which the Crown relied, and also something as to the thorough method and the legal acumen of the Crown Agent.

"Margaret Richard, of parish of Gwnnws, the widdow of Jenkin Richard that sold Llwyn y mwyn to William Richard, aged about 62, was wife to Jenkin Richard when he sold Llwyn y mwyn and Cilfach y rhew to Wm. Richard, the father of ye plaintiffs, and had been for some years before. That the chief rent that Jenkin Richard used to pay to Lord Lisburn for Llwyn y mwyn and Cilfach y rhew was 22*s.* a year, and called Rhent Brenin, *i.e.* king's rent. That one Morgan Jones once took a lease of Llwyn y mwyn and Cilfach y rhew of Jenkin Richard for about £10 or £11 a year, but not liking his bargain did not come to live there, but gave Jenkin Richard about eight Pound or eight Guineas for takeing up ye bargain, who now says he had a lease of Esgair y mwyn. That she lived at Llwyn y mwyn with her husband for several years, and that neither she nor her husband ever claim'd further than the boundary fence to belong to Llwyn y mwyn freehold, and that Esgair y mwyn mine is on the Mynydd (or Common) and is not on the freehold of Llwyn y mwyn or Cilfach y rhew, or on any freehold. That her husband paid suit and service at the Court of ye Lordship usually kept at Llanilar, and that she remembers her husband had a law suit at ye Court kept at

Llanilar when they lived at Llwyn y mwyn. That there used to be more of ye Commoners cattle grazing on ye bank of Esgair y mwyn than of ye cattle belonging to her husband. That she often heard the *mynydd* or Common where Esgair y mwyn mine is, called *Tir y brenin*, *i.e.* King's land, and was also reputed so, and that particularly one time her husband J. R. told her a miner Lewis Richard, a nephew of his, wanted to take a bargain of him to raise ore on ye bank of Esgair y mwyn in an old trench there, and that Jenkin Richard told her he had refused to meddle with it because it belonged to ye King, or to that effect."

The following additional notes are added in the margin :—" M. R. shewed boundaries to Wm. Richard. Cattle turned to ye common when Wm. Richard attempted to distrain for rent. Morgan Robert, one of Mr. Powell's witnesses advised her to pretend sickness, and not to be a witness for the Crown."

"Richard Thomas, of Ty'n y banadl, in ye parish of Lledrod, aged about 52, born in ye neighbourhood of Esgair y mwyn and hath known it for above 40 years. Knows the mountain fence and all ye Tenements adjoining on it by name. That the said fence is ye boundary between ye freeholds and common, That from ye said fence to Claerwen and the lordship of Ysbytty is all an open Common, except a few huts which belong to particular persons ; that there is neither land mark nor division on ye said Common from ye mountain fence of Llwyn y mwyn and Cilfach y rhew to Claerwen. That the mine of Esgair y mwyn is on ye said Common, and not on ye freehold of John Williams or Lewis Williams, or any other freeholds whatsoever, and that it is on ye waste or common belonging to the Lordship of Mevenyth whose Courts Leet and Baron are usually kept at Llanilar within ye said Lordship, and sometimes at Lledrod, sometimes at Llan y Gwerydlon. That he hath been often on ye Jury in that Court, and that formerly the said Courts were kept by Deputy Stewards under Mr. Brigstock in the King's name, and that the said Court was, since this deponent remembers it (which is far above 30 years past), always held in the King's name, or the name of ye Prince of Wales. That the tenants of the Lordship of Mevenyth attend the said Court from eight parishes, Gwnnws, Llanilar, Llan y Gwerydlon, Lledrod, Llanddeiniol, Llanrhystyd, Rhosdie, Llanychaiarn, who send there eleven constables appointed by said Court. That the borderers on ye Common fence from Marchnad river to the river Teivi, attend and do suit and service in said Court. That the bank of Esgair y mwyn hath been always for 40 years past grazed in common by the inhabitants of ye Upper parcel of Gwnnws. That a Mayor and Biddle to gather Chief Rents in ye said mannor are appointed yearly by ye Leet Jury of said Court, and that he hath

heard that Lord Lisburn hath a grant from ye Crown of certain Rents out of some tenements in the said Lordship of Mevenyth. That several of ye Tenants in ye Freeholds adjoining to ye Common take the Cattle and Sheep of distant Freeholders under their care to look after them on the Common, paying for the sd. care and keeping of them a few pence per head for ye season, as they have the opportunity of seeing them daily, and not that they have a greater right to the Common than others."

The proofs of the other deponents contain somewhat similar statements, which may be summarised as follows: That there was a boundary fence between the freeholds and the common, and each freehold went no further than the boundary fence; that from the fence of Llwyn y mwyn, Cilfach y rhew, Llwyn llwyd, etc., to the river Claerwen was all a Mynydd or *Commins*, without mere or division, which during the last thirty or forty years had been called sometimes Tir y brenin, and sometimes Cae Siors "(*i.e.* George's field), meaning that it was a common belonging to King George"; that it was a common to all the inhabitants of the upper parcel of Gwnnws, and was the same common as that on which Rhos fair was held three times every year; it was on this open common, and not on any freehold, that Esgair-y-mwyn mine was situated, and the Commoners depastured their sheep and cattle on Esgair-y-mwyn bank, as well as on any other bank on the said common, without let or hindrance.

As to the boundary fence, one of deponents, a man of sixty, adds that "ever since he remembers it, he hath seen it repaired by ye Tenants of adjoining freeholds, and hath heard always that it was presented at ye said Court Leet (usually held at Llanilar) if not repaired against summer. Also that the borderers on ye Common do now and then chace ye Commoners' cattle from their boundary fence, but that he remembers to have heard of their being punish'd for it by Justices of the Peace."

Another deponent, aged 67, referring to turf-cutting states that "the first that opens a Turf pit on ye common keeps it till he leaves it off". Some other interesting facts are added by another deponent, from whose proof a few concluding extracts must I think be given, especially as they further indicate the nature of the evidence on which the claimants relied.

"John Edward, of the parish of Gwnnws, aged about 66, born and bred at Llwyn y Gwyddyl in ye said parish, where he has lived ever since. Hath been a constable of ye upper parcel of Gwnnws above 20 years ago, to which office he was appointed by ye Jury of ye Court Leet of a Lordship whose Courts are kept usually at Llanilar, and that he hath also been appointed a sightman by ye said Court about 20 years ago and often since, to view and present ye great boundary fence dividing between ye freeholds and ye common in ye sd. upper parcel of Gwnnws, which fence reaches from ye river Marchnad to ye river Teivi. . . . . That about 30 years ago or more he remembers the Tenants living at Llwyn y mwyn sent to his father to desire assistance to repair ye great boundary fence between Llwyn y mwyn and the *Mynydd* or *Commons* where Esgair y mwyn mine stands, it having been presented at ye Leet Court for being out of repair, and that deponent's brother was sent there to assist them to repair ye same against ye following Court.

"That about 7 years ago Deponent cut Turf for fireing in a bog near Esgair Ddu on said Common in right of his Tenement of Ty'n rhos in said upper parcel of Gwnnws, and having no conveniency of carrying them home directly, he thought of makeing them into a stack at a place called y Garn wenn, because there were stones there to keep ye cattle from throwing them down that had been gathered by some other persons, but recollecting that some 30 or 40 years ago he had seen Turf there stacked, belonging to the mother of Jenkin Richard, once owner of Llwyn y mwyn, he was afraid that John Williams, present owner of Llwyn y mwyn, would give him some interruption, because his Predecessors might have been ye persons that had rais'd those stones for that purpose, and therefore he went to said John Williams and told him he had seen the Turf of ye aforesd. old woman in ye said *Garn wenn*, and asked him whether there was any harm if he laid his turf there that year, meaning that as he imagin'd the former owner of Llywn y mwyn had raised those stones to defend their Turf, John Williams might have some claim to that turf stack site, and Deponent saith that he had no manner of notion that John

Williams had any better claim to ye mountain from ye boundary fence to ye river Claerwen than all others of ye inhabitants of ye Lordship. And this Deponent hath cut Turf near Esgair Ddu without interruption for about 13 years past, and that his father used to cut Turf for fireing at Rhos maen gwelw on said common for about 60 years or as long as this Dept. can remember any thing. That he hath rais'd Tythes of Corn with his father on said Tenement of Llwyn y mwyn on a part of it below the great boundary fence, commonly called rhwng y ddeuglawdd, and within ye freehold of Llwyn y mwyn, which bank is also called Esgair y mwyn, because it is a continuation of said bank of Esgair y mwyn on ye Common.

"That about ye beginning of April 1754 Thomas Richard, an Agent of Lord Lisburn, came to this Deponent and charged him not to go to Mr. Lewis Morris, the King's Agent, at Esgair y mwyn, to testyfy anything in relation to the said mine, and that none of my Lord's tenants were to go and give their evidence at their peril, this Deponent being one of Ld. Lisburn's tenants."

Three documents relating to this case (which was intituled The Attorney-General *v.* Lord Lisburne and others) are preserved at the Record Office :—

1. The bill of complaint or information of the Attorney-General—a huge document measuring 10ft. by 3ft.

2. Answer of John Williams and Lewis Williams, two of the defendants ; and

3. Answer of Lord Lisburne, Charles Waller and William Powell, other defendants.

Great must have been the excitement in North Cardiganshire towards the end of April 1754, where the forces of the contending parties were being marshalled, and the witnesses, in two separate armies, were being got ready to proceed to London for the impending battle. On King George's side, Lewis Morris (who left home on or about April 26) brought up with him "near four score witnesses that he had subpœnaed in the country", and after his arrival in London with this personally conducted party, his time was taken up in assisting the Solicitor to the Treasury (Mr. Sharpe), taking care of the witnesses—no

light task!—and "drawing releases of their several Titles and other matters". When this had been going on for about three weeks, lo! the end came like a bolt from the blue, and the Cardiganshire folk were deprived of the honour of being actors in a great dramatic trial.

An arrangement partaking of the nature of a compromise was arrived at, "upon the Government's agreeing with the claimants for their rights in the mines,"[1] but it was, in effect, an almost unqualified victory for the Crown, for on the 24th of May "the Claimants suffered a non-suit." At the same time, the Crown also discontinued its intended prosecution of the ringleaders of the riot of Feb. 1753, for their riotous conduct, and their assault upon the King's Agent. Morris himself was, however, far from approving of such leniency towards his enemies, especially as "Lord Mansfield, then Sollr.-General had declared upon the consultation on the affair at the house of Sir Dudley Rider, then Attorney-General, that upon an action being brought for the false imprisonment, etc., a Middlesex jury (he did not doubt) would at least give a verdict for £500" in Morris's favour. With very proper caution, the Treasury took steps to perpetuate the testimony of the witnesses who had been brought up to London, the versatile Morris being naturally requisitioned "to settle their affidavits . . . to be ready for a future defence."

Though a sort of compromise had been arrived at, it does not seem to have covered all the points at issue, for even subsequent to the non-suit, Morris, according to his own account, "assisted to give instructions to the Attorney-Genl. in drawing a bill to be prefer'd against

[1] In another connection it is stated that "the property of the said mine was establish'd by some releases made to the Crown by the several persons that litigated the Crown's right."

the Claimants, Mr. Powell, Lord Lisburne and others," but this bill must have been subsequently abandoned under circumstances to be mentioned later on.

The litigation, even so far as it has already gone, had cost at least one of the claimants more than he could well afford, if common gossip was to be believed, for Powel of Nanteos was said to have been obliged to borrow more than £1,500 to go on with it,—and "he calls for his rents before hand, and curses the hour he ever meddled with this Lawsuit."[1] We shall see later on how there came to the relief of the claimants a *deus ex machinâ* in the person of Mr. Chauncey Townsend.

After the non-suit Morris was not long detained in London, for he appears to have reached his home at Galltfadog on or about the 19th of June. Here he found himself the hero of the hour, for there was now no lack of people who openly proclaimed themselves as his partisans, and they celebrated his triumph in characteristic fashion at the annual fair held on the 2nd of July at Ystradmeurig, which was only some two or three miles distant from the mine. A graphic account of this affair, together with other interesting information, is contained in a letter which he wrote from Esgair-y-mwyn to his brother William a few days later—8 July.

. . . . "I am here [*i.e.* at Esgair-y-mwyn] at ye Quarter's pay, paying miners, carriers, washers, witnesses, &c., *nid llai na mil o bunnau a gludais i o arian oddicartref i dalu iddynt!*[2] A prodigious affair, no wonder people should run mad about it. Mae'n debyg mae

[1] Letter 8 Sept. 1754.

[2] The magnitude of his transactions about this time may be inferred from a letter he wrote to his brother more than two years later (12 March 1757). "I have had above £8,000 in money in ye house at ye same time, where ye meanest shepherd might have come at them, but such is ye honesty of Card[igan]shire in that respect, and their Ignorance, that I never was robbed of any."

fi yw'r sobraf o'r holl genedlaeth ag yn cadw lleiaf o swn yn ei gylch ac yn cadw fy lle yn lew hyd yn hyn er gwaetha'r gelyn ddyn. I have a fine prospect of Lead ore on a Tenement that I have a Lease of on ye forefield of Esgair y mwyn, the same vein. This will drive them madder then ever, we are raising some ore there and I believe it will answer. . . . Notwithstanding all the surprising schemes of my Enemies I have defeated them surprisingly, and trust in God I shall hereafter. . . .

"Yr ydym ni wedi gorthrechu 'r Gelyn am *fobbio* yn glir lân. Ni fu'r fath *Lachio* erioed yn Llanerchymedd ag a fu yma yn ffair Ystrad meurig yr wythnos ddiwaethaf; fe ddarfu ein pobl ni drwy nerth *cocâdes*[1] a'r cwrw ei Sgwrrio nhwy'n *Deifis* ag yn Wyddelod drwy'r ffair yn ôl ac ymlaen, dros bedair Battel a wnaethont, roedd yno gantoedd o Gloliau cochion i bawb a waeddai *Bowel for Ever*; *King George* a *Mr. Morris for ever* oedd yn ei charrio hi yn dêg. Would any man believe such a thing possible? But so it is. Fair honest dealings and punctual payments, and an open behaviour hath outdone all their schemes and villanies, and hath brought the body of ye country [on] our side."

Another source of much gratification to Morris was the great and increasing confidence that the Earl of Powis now seemed to place in him. By this time, the Earl had probably become interested in some of the numerous mines of the upper part of Cardiganshire. If so, it was probably about these mines that Morris would be so consulted. At all events, he informs his brother (in a letter dated 8 Sept.) that he was then in such high favour with the Earl that his lordship did nothing of importance without first consulting him "and there is often two messengers in the same week from him to me". No wonder that many were jealous of Morris's good fortune, and, as he says, were full of venom, "*O achos fod dynyn truan yn mynd rhagddo*" . . . "It is envy more than anything else that poisons the mind of Collector Smith," and he, whoever he might be, was only a type of the many, for "this affair [of Esgair-y

[1] The royal favours, the black cockades of Hanover, as distinguished from the white cockades of the Stuarts.

mwyn] is vastly magnify'd in all countries to be a prodigious affair for my profit."

The success which had hitherto crowned nearly all his efforts, led Morris to believe that he was the object of special protection at the hands of a kind Providence. "The Gods take care of Cato", he quoted in one of his letters to his brother (26 Oct. 1754)—"and why not of me? You see they do, and everybody sees it. Then what signifys the efforts of little mortal animals to hurt me?" What he might have feared, however, was that there should be a Nemesis pursuing him, on account of the undue share of good fortune which had fallen to his lot. Already some events had happened which might have served him as warnings, but for his placid optimism, and the almost overweening confidence which he had in himself. The political situation, on which much depended, had undergone considerable change through the death of Henry Pelham, in March 1754, even though his brother the Duke of Newcastle succeeded him as Prime Minister. A Ministerial crisis or a General Election might bring some of Morris's opponents into influence and power. He soon had reason to believe that some of the Treasury officials, notably West and Sharpe, were probably not too well disposed towards him.[1] A letter from West, dated 19 June 1754, forbad him to dispose of any more ore. An incident which occurred later on in the same year illustrates the kind of treatment he received from the Treasury. Morris's own account of it,[2] though somewhat lengthy, deserves reproduction.

[1] "Mr. Sharpe always endeavoured to hurt me since the year 1745, when I had some dispute with him about money, and there are gentlemen belonging to the Treasury who know it and were concerned in that affair."—(From a Memorandum written by Morris, probably in 1757.)

[2] In a letter to William Morris from "Galltvadog, Oct. 26th, 1754."

"It was contrived by some little malicious fellow in ye Exchequer the other day to get an Exchequer process directed to ye Sheriff of Cardigan to distrain on me for £100, money remmitted me in ye year 1745 and 46 to be laid out to Lawyers, &c. for the King's service and for which I was accountable. I had accounted for the money and for several hundreds after that, but for all this the Sheriff distrained, and I gave him a note for £100. Doth not this look odd, think you? The very person on whom depends all their affairs here to be distrained upon by a Tory Sheriff. Now a passionate man (as they call me at ye Treasury) would have thrown dirt in their faces, and kick'd all about him. But another of ye Gods of ye ancients called *Patience* told me that it was impossible this could come from the leading men my superiors, for it was too ill-timed a thing if they had a mind to fall out with me, and it was the direct way to drive me off with what money I could lay my hands on, and to suffer all to go to wreck and ruin. Therefore I immediately wrote to ye Sollr. of the Treasury [John Sharpe] to desire him to put a stop to these Excheqr. processes, for that I should be never safe to enjoy one penny of ye money paid me by ye Treasury for my services while this gate was open. How slippery is our situation! A man may be thunderstruck with a writ from ye Exchеqr. for money he hath accounted for ten years ago, and all his effects swept away, and it shall cost him a London journey and a Quarter of a year's application before he can recover his own, and yet not know as long as he lives from whence the bolt comes. . . . The Sollr. was never more surpris'd at anything than at this proceeding, and doth not know how it came about, wrote to me that he wd. get an order of ye Treasury to the Sheriff to return me my note, &c., &c., &c., and that I was to have all the countenance, assistance, &c., as I could wish to have: *diolch i chwi ebr finau.*"

More than two years had now elapsed since Morris had been appointed Superintendent of the King's mines, but as yet he had not submitted to the Treasury any statement of his receipts and disbursements. While actively engaged in preparing the case for the Crown, he had scarcely time to attend to the matter, but after the nonsuit, he was probably expected to do so forthwith. But the fact that he did not promptly respond to a request to that effect gave room in the official mind to that suspicion of his conduct which his opponents had sedulously fostered by insinuating that he was not to be trusted with the

management of so great an affair. As his delay in this respect appears to have been the source of almost all his subsequent troubles, his own explanation of it, given when he was placed in the position of defendant, ought to be here quoted.

"This deft. admits that he did for some time defer to deliver in his accounts after he had been required there to by the Sollr. and Secretary of the Treasury, by reason that this deft. did not think it safe for him so to do, not only as this deft. was at a constant considerable expence in working the said mine and in raising of ore where some Hundreds of persons were concerned under deft's. management and on his credit, but also as several other persons litigated the property of the said mine, and in case such persons could have made it appear that they had a right to such mine, this deft. was afraid he might be answerable over to them for such money as then remained in his hands. And what increased this deft's. fears was that, by a letter dated June 19th 1754, defendant was forbid by Mr. West, Secretary of the Treasury, to dispose of any more ore, the consequence of which was, that the money in deft's. hands must be laid out to carry on the mine or else that the raising of ore must be stop'd."

In the following autumn, Morris did, however, make preparations for proceeding to London to pass his accounts, and, as the unsold ore was accumulating in the warehouses, he wrote (5 Oct. 1754) to Sharpe, inquiring whether he might not sell it as he "purposed to come to London that winter with his accounts". The prohibition was not cancelled, but Morris was assured (31 Dec. 1754) that if any ore were lost during his absence, he would not be held accountable for it. Immediately on receipt of this letter (on or about 3 Jan. 1755) Morris stopped the raising of ore, dismissed all the workman except an agent (William Jones) and a number of men who were kept on to pump the water and to keep the works in repair generally.

Having made these arrangements for his absence, Morris, on the 21st January, set out for London with his books of account, being accompanied by his nephew, John

Owen,[1] to whom most of the book-keeping had been entrusted. Towards the end of February, or early in March, he delivered "an Abstract of his Payments and Receipts in relation to the mine", for submission to the Duke of Newcastle, who required such an Abstract (so Morris had been informed) so that "he might see how matters stood, and that he might the better judge how the accounts were to be pass'd, and what allowances were to be made" to Morris, "and that he might also inform himself of the value of the mine and how to Lease it." In this Abstract, which extended from 1 July 1751 to 3 Jan. 1755, Morris stated his receipts at £13,684 12*s.* 11*d.*, and his disbursements (including payments made by order of the officers of the Treasury) at £12,594 11*s.* 6¼*d.*, which left in his hands a balance of £1,090 1*s.* 4¾*d.* An obvious discrepancy, which told against Morris's accuracy, whatever about his honesty, did not escape the notice of the Treasury officials. He had charged for the washing and carriage to Aberystwyth of 1,767 tons of ore, but had accounted for only 1,611 tons of it as sold. Morris does not appear to have been told of this discrepancy immediately it was detected, and it would seem that it was a considerable time after that he was asked to explain it.[2]

[1] John Owen (who like Edward Hughes had come from Anglesey to Cardiganshire) was a son of a sister of Morris. He eventually became a purser in the navy and died at sea, some time between 1759 and 1762. He was a promising poet, and a friend of Ieuan Brydydd Hir and Goronwy Owen.

[2] Morris's explanation was that the remainder of the ore was supposed to be in the warehouse at Aberystwyth, unless it had been stolen, either in 1753, when Morris was put by the rioters in Cardigan Gaol, or "after the soldiers were taken off who, for some time, by order of the Government, guarded the warehouses where the said ore was kept; those warehouses have been often broke open by storms and sometimes (as defendant verily believes) by Ill-disposed persons, upon a presumption that the mine and the ore was the

In fact, Morris assumed an attitude of haughty aloofness so far as the Treasury officials were concerned, and having understood that they doubted his honesty he would not condescend to go near them, unless specially requested to do so, and did his business with them chiefly by correspondence, though he had taken lodgings quite close to the Government offices, viz., "at Hopkins and Taylor, the corner house in St. Martin's Churchyard, St. Martin's Lane, Westminster".

"I have a kind of spirit that cannot bend," he wrote to his brother at Holyhead on 14th May, "and now they call me here about ye offices the *Proud hot Welshman*, oblegyd[1] er fy mod yn Llundain er dechreu Chwefror, nid eis i etto i ymddangos nag i ymostwng i un o wyr y Treasury er cymaint ydynt: nid oes ryfedd ynteu fy mod yma cyhyd. Gadewch iddo. I will have it done in my own way, or it shall not be done at all. Mi[2] af i Ffrainge, mi af i Fflandrys, mi af i Gaerdroia, cyn y caffont y gair i ddywedyd fy mod i yn dwyllwr, nag yn rhagrithiwr. This was attempted, and all the ill offices that could be done me. I was the greatest rogue in ye Kingdom, not to be trusted with money, or with the King's effects. Was it not my business to clear these affairs up before I went to cringe to any of them? I don't want their favours, if I have but fair play I shall get off with money in my Pocket, a[3] draen yn eu coppiau."

He had by this time fully realised that there were in-

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property of the public." There was another explanation possible: by order of the Government Examiners (Paynter and Tidy), the ore remaining in the neighbourhood was weighed out—without any notice given to Morris, and in the absence of the Examiners themselves—by "strangers who they knew to be [his] enemies, and declared them so, . . . who might give what account and what weight they pleased."

[1] For though I am in London since the beginning of February, I have not yet gone to show myself or to bend before any of the Treasury people, great though they are. No wonder I am here so long. So let it be.

[2] To France, to Flanders, even to Troy will I go before they can say I am a cheat or a hypocrite.

[3] And thorns in their heads.

fluences most inimical to his interests working against him at the Treasury; "I have powerful people against me, tooth and nail", he wrote as early as Feb. 11—then in Welsh—"nor is my own party weak. The great sledge hammer[1] says I shall suffer no wrong." Then some two months later (19 April) :—" I am obliged to fight hard here and gain ground but by inch and inch, so strong are the party against me in the Treasury, who have suffer'd my opponents to do surprizing illegal things against me."

By the beginning of April, if not indeed earlier, he must also have discovered that the Treasury had been somehow influenced—probably through secret channels—to show a more yielding disposition in the matter of its title to the mine, and had practically abandoned the position which Morris himself had taken up and had so valiantly defended. What appears to have happened was this: some time after the non-suit in the Exchequer Court, Chauncey Townsend (M.P. for Westbury, and Alderman of the city of London),[2] purchased from the claimants

[1] Morris elsewhere applies this expression—*y morthwyl mawr*—to the King, who seems to have been approached on his behalf, but I think Newcastle is meant here.

[2] Townsend, who was a wealthy merchant of Austin Friars, London, had, among other properties, extensive collieries and copper works in the parish of Llansamlet, just outside Swansea, being in fact the originator of the coal trade on the East, or Kilvey, side of the river Tawe. He first leased the Birchgrove colliery area from Mary Morgan, widow, of Llansamlet (*circa* 1746-50), and subsequently acquired further coal measures from the Mansels of Margam, under leases of the 7th Nov. 1750 and 1 Sept. 1755, the latter being confirmed by a Private Act of Parliament in 1767. His 4th son, Joseph Townsend (1739-1816), became known as a geologist and mineralogist, and is noticed in the *Dict. of Nat. Biography.* A daughter married John Smith, of Drapers Hall, London, who thus acquired the Birchgrove leasehold and settled at Gwernllwyn-chwith close by—whence the Smiths of that place. Townsend and Smith had also an interest in Lead Works, at Upper Bank, Swansea, and are said to have worked lead mines at Pengored, near Llechryd in South Cardiganshire (see

what Morris called "their pretended right and title to the mine," paying therefor, it was said, about a Thousand Pounds, and promising also to pay the costs of the law-suit. Townsend then approached the Lords of the Treasury, and *mirabile dictu!* succeeded in persuading them to buy him out, so as to save further law-suits.[1] For his title he was paid £3,500, and was also allowed all the unsold lead ore then lying on the bank of the mine, which ore alone Morris asserted to be worth about £4,000, and he had every opportunity of knowing, for the ore was delivered by his agents to those of Townsend between April and September 1755.

It is scarcely necessary to add that, under these circumstances, the bill which the Attorney-General had intended to prefer against the claimants would naturally be abandoned. In October, Morris suspected that "Townsend's people were upon playing tricks" with the under agent, William Jones, "as they find he is a fool." Here is "a bold attempt a-making by Townsend to abolish the bargain made with Evan Williams and the two Morgans"; "I pre-

Grant Francis' *Smelting of Copper in the Swansea District*, 117–120). Meyrick (*Hist.*, Intro. pp. 225–6) says that Townsend also worked the Goginan and Llanfair lead and silver mines, and that the mines of Cwmervin belonged at one time to the "heirs of Townsend, Smith and Co." (Walter Davies, *Agricultural Survey of South Wales*). He also had "works" at Llanelly, in Carmarthenshire, in 1754 (Mee's *Llanelly Parish Church*, pp. xxii, xxvi, and 97). Townsend died in 1770.

[1] In the bitterness of his heart Lewis Morris thus mentions the matter in a letter to his brother (12 June 1755): "The Lords of the Treasury know that Townsend is a rascal and a Bite, yet they suffer him to make fools of them before their faces." Referring elsewhere to the mine at Nant y creiau, where Morris had raised a few tons of ore, and had left it on the bank unwashed, he says (*Meyrick*, p. 564): "Being called for to London to pass my accounts, I had no sooner turned my back, but Powell and Townsend's people, John Ball, &c., went there and dressed the ore and carried it off by a mob of the poorest people they could find."

sume Oliver," whoever he was, "is at the bottom of it." This was probably the beginning of much trouble.

Affairs had thus taken a turn which assuredly was not to Morris's liking, but he was as confident as ever that eventually all would be well with him. However numerous his enemies, he felt that he could count upon all the influence that the Earl of Powis could exercise in his favour, while the Duke of Newcastle had also flattered, and perhaps deceived him, with some vague promises of his protection. His changing mood during this period of uncertainty is doubtless reflected pretty accurately in his letters to his brother William. He is never weary of praising the Earl, who at times would visit him at his lodgings almost every day, sometimes even twice a day. "It is a great honor to be concern'd with such a man even in writing, dictating, contriving, and planning Letters." "He waits on me instead of my waiting on him." "Have I not done surprizing things[1] to bring such a great man to wait on my Levie!" he jestingly exclaims, though as if suddenly sobered, he adds—in Welsh—"But God help me, I am poor and friendless enough, and without a single man of sense in my service, a terrible case." He however reports in the same letter (14 May), that the Duke of Newcastle had said that he (Morris) was in the right.

[1] Morris greatly pleased the Earl by presenting him on 19 April 1755 with "a most noble MS. upon vellum with the pedigree and arms of ye Herberts finely drawn and proved from ancient records, deeds, MS., histories, &c." On the birth of the Earl's only son (Lord Ludlow), in July, Morris induced his friend Goronwy Owen to write an elaborate ode in Welsh and Latin to celebrate the event. But it was not delivered to his Lordship till August 1756 (see *Works of Goronwy Owen*, ed. R. Jones, p. 246). About the end of 1756, Morris further presented the Earl with a fine collection of shells and mineralogical specimens, the acquisition and the classification of which in a specially constructed cabinet, had claimed the attention of the brothers Lewis and William for several months previously.

A month later (12 June), he is somewhat puzzled at the way in which the Government's patronage was being dispensed:—

"Have made surprizing defences here, and God visibly help'd me by unsearchable ways. If this great opposition had not been made to me, I should have been no more known among them than *Lol'r Gw'ydd*, but now my name is as well known at ye Treasury and at ye D. of N. Castle's Levy as the name of the Attorney-General.—'I don't know how this man came to be made boatman at Aberystwyth' said one of his Secretaries to the Duke the other day. 'Lewis Morris used to have the Nomination of the officers in that country. I must give the Commissioners [of Customs] a rebuff about this affair.' And yet, at the very same time, this sneak is ready to undermine me. Its a servant of Powel's that they have made Boatman there! I am offended to the very marrow."

Morris thought it was the work of Commissioner Gwyn Vaughan, in order to spite him, "a weak stroke of malice, thank God that greater things are not in his power." In his anger, he felt disposed to throw up his collectorship of Customs, but on second thought, "I shall exchange it, if possible, for a better, so that I may not be under a malicious sneak."

But there was another matter that augured still worse for him than this appointment of the boatman. The sitting member for Cardiganshire, John Lloyd of Peterwell, was expected to die shortly, which in fact he did before the month (June) was out, and Morris heard to his chagrin that Lord Lisburne's son was to be put forward as a candidate "through the interest of the Government!" "Monstrous! the man who the other day made them spend thousands of pounds on the lawsuit, through his joining Powel and the Jacobites."

The correspondence during the summer months was more than usually voluminous, some twenty letters being written to William during July, August and September. So far, the contest with the Treasury officials appears to have chiefly related to the questions how and by whom

the accounts were to be taken; the impression which the correspondence conveys is that of a succession of intermittent "alarums and excursions," which left the parties in pretty much the same position, though Morris felt convinced that he was steadily gaining ground, thanks to Lord Powis's unceasing exertions on his behalf. More than once he compares himself to a wether entangled among brambles (*llwdn dafad mewn drysi, cant o fieri a gafael yn fy ngwlan*) and set upon by a gang of sheep-stealers. "I have just got free from one bramble bush, so Lord Powis tells me to-day," he writes on 23 June. On 4 July[1] he reports that the Earl had paid another visit to the Treasury, "and I hope he hath carried the point we wanted, as our adversaries have fortify'd themselves so well by bribery and corruption we are obliged to fight our way inch by inch," but he hoped to undermine them very shortly as there remained "only one tower unconquered". "The more I advance in my affairs, new difficulties start, as if they had a mind I never should have an end", was what he had to confess on 15 July; "but they use Lord Powis as they do me, so I suffer in good company, and I would not desire better. I shall hear to-day from Lord Powis how this last contrivance is like to turn out: surprizing people, made up of Pride, Ignorance, and Falsity". On the 21st he declares himself "tired of writing accounts, &c." and is uneasy because he had not heard from Lord Powis, who was so busy about christening his son that there was "no seeing of him".[2]

[1] A day or two before this, Morris removed from his lodgings at St. Martin's lane to "Mr. Prestwood's over against the coffee-house on Great Tower hill," where he would be near his brother Richard at the Navy office.

[2] In the same letter he says: "God hath sent away two of the dogs that bark'd at me in Ceredigion, one of them ye very worst in ye world: he died last week at a Tenant's house of mine, a public-house, with ye d—l in his mouth. A Rare breed!"

At the end of July, the Treasury officials seem to have gone away on a holiday. Morris remained in town, utilising his leisure in preparing a work on Mines, and in endeavouring to get a living for Goronwy Owen. "If my affairs were determined," he writes on 2nd August, "he would be sure of a living, but I cannot push things on so heartily as affairs are now circumstanced. Things are in a fair way of doing well, but that we move slow." He was chafing at being obliged to stay in London instead of pushing on matters at his own mine of Cwmervin (which "will make a good thing"). By the 22nd September he was able to inform his brother that he was then expecting orders to begin the examination of his accounts.

When at last the order came (by letter of 2nd October from Mr. Harding, Secretary to the Treasury) Morris was jubilant at the choice of Examiners on behalf of the Crown. An effort had been made on his behalf to secure the nomination of two old Anglesey friends—Williams of Geirchog, and William Parry, of Gwredog.[1] But this was frustrated through the Treasury obtaining information of their being friends of Morris. The persons eventually selected were John Tidy (steward to the Earl of Darlington, who was then one of the Lords of the Treasury) and John Paynter, who has been previously mentioned as resident manager of the Cwmsymlog mine under William Corbett. Morris alludes to Paynter as "formerly of Penrhyn" [? Penrhyn Deudraeth[2]], refers to their old acquain-

[1] Parry was Deputy Comptroller of the Mint. Goronwy Owen, in 1755, invited him (in a *Cywydd* printed in Owen's *Works*, ed. R. Jones, p. 178) to visit the poet at Northolt. He was the *Cofiadur* or Recorder of the Cymmrodorion Society in 1759.

[2] After perusing a pedigree communicated to me by Mr. Charles E. Paynter, of 61, Devonshire Road, Claughton, Cheshire, I have come to the conclusion (though it is not directly suggested by the pedigree) that the Paynter of our text should be identified with a John Paynter

tanceship, and never for a moment questions the staunchness of his friendship, though the Treasury officials were not to know anything of this. It was on Lord Powis's recommendation that Paynter was selected,[1] and Morris readily accepted the selection.

The efforts made to secure the appointment of a friendly examiner, and Morris's elation at his success in that respect, coupled with some vague allusions to what he hoped to gain thereby,[2] seem to suggest that it was not merely

who, in 1734, married one Elizabeth Perks, by whom he had four sons—Andrew, Thomas, John and William. Andrew (1735-1802) became an officer of the customs, and married a daughter of Joseph Cox, comptroller of customs at Pwllheli, by Ellen Wynne, of Glasgoed, Llanddeiniolen. He was buried at Llanfrothen; his widow removed to Amlwch, and the High Sheriff of Anglesey for 1871 (T. Wynne Paynter, of Amlwch) was their grandson. (*Cymru* for Jan. 1896, x, 29-36.) Andrew's customs appointment was perhaps secured through his father's connection with the Corbett's, and William (born 1741) was probably the "William Paynter, Navy Office, gent.," who figures in the list of Cymmrodorion members for 1759, being described as a native of Denbighshire. The third son, John, married a widow named Eleanor Morris. It is not improbable that she was Lewis Morris's daughter of that name, who married (for her first husband) Richard Morris, of Mathafarn. John and Eleanor Paynter lived at Aberdovey, and were buried in the parish churchyard of Towyn, the husband on 28 Oct. 1815, aged 78, and his widow on 21 Sept. 1820, aged 90. The earliest Paynters were interested in lead mining, and most probably came to Wales from Cornwall. There is no traceable connection between them and the Paynters of Dale in Pembrokeshire, which is believed to have been an offshoot of the Paynters of Boskenna, near Penzance in Cornwall. (For pedigrees of these latter families *see* Burke's *Landed Gentry* (1875), p. 1062, and Supplement, p. 54.)

[1] Onid oedd Arglwydd Powys lwyd a minau yn bobl ryfeddol ei hymladd hi hyd yma, a chael Sion Painter y dyn clifria yn y deyrnas am y fath beth? Oeddem, Oddem" (Oct. 13, 1755).

[2] In referring to Tidy as Earl Darlington's Steward he says—"Os yw'r gwas fal y meistr, mi wnawn o'r goreu ag ef." In fact Tidy is represented somewhat as a lay figure, Paynter wielding the controlling and directing power in the whole proceedings. As to the Treasury officials—"if they are other people's fools, pan na fyddant i minnau?"

fear lest he should suffer injustice at the hands of hostile examiners that influenced him, but that there had been some irregularities which he wished, if possible, to be passed over lightly. On the other hand, one cannot too much emphasize the fact that, though these letters were written confidentially to his brother, their whole tone is that of righteous indignation at injustice done to Morris by the Treasury officials, and there is not a single statement from which one could reasonably infer that he had been guilty of anything worse than slight irregularities, if so much,—certainly not of the systematic peculation which was the hitherto unformulated charge against him.

On 9 October the two Examiners commenced their investigation of Morris's Abstract or "General Statement of Payments and Receipts," and Morris, who had handed in his books and vouchers, "assisted them almost every day", until the conclusion of the audit on the 28th, when the Examiners "seem'd well pleased" with the explanations that had been furnished them. Two days later, according to the Answer which Morris filed in the subsequent proceedings, Paynter came to his lodgings and informed him that "he and Tidy had been the day before with Mr. Sharpe, who was ordered by the Treasury to assist them, and that they had shew'd to Mr. Sharpe a draught of [Morris's] accounts as stated by them, and had taken his directions how to make the report, and that Sharpe had approved of the said accounts, and that they would be passed as they were in his books, except some few trifling articles which he said they had struck off to shew their assiduity". Paynter at the same time shewed to Morris a draft of the report which he and Tidy intended to make. No report was then, however, presented; and Morris subsequently alleged that the object of the Examiners in declining to report was "to delay the

time and to continue their employment by the Treasury, as they were greatly paid by them"—their remuneration being at the rate of Two Guineas a day each—and also to secure thereby the appointment of one of them to succeed Morris in the management of the Mine.

A fuller account of the interview with Paynter on 30 Oct. 1755 is contained in a long letter written on the same day by Morris to a certain noble lord, undoubtedly the Earl of Powis.[1] In this, the writer reproduces Paynter's account of what he had heard at the Treasury. Sharpe had shown the Examiners a letter addressed to the Treasury by a "Mr. Knightley", which Morris believed to be a fictitious name assumed to cover an anonymous attack on him. "No doubt it came from Commsr. Welles and Townsend", writes Morris, and to the latter he attributes its "venom and low cunning".

"He hints, there should be a *View of the Mine*, that [it] *is going to ruin*, that these Examiners are men of knowledge and would discover my frauds; That he had heard my character in travelling from Swansey to Aberystwyth, and was desired to *let them know* by word of mouth that the gentlemen of the country are not Inclin'd to be rebels (tho' they go to law about ye mines) unless they are *provoked to be so* by such an *Incendiary* as L. M.: and he is surprised people of their sense should suffer me to go on at that rate, and abundance of the like stuff throwing dirt. Such a letter in other hands would be construed to my advantage for *all the King's Enemies call me an Incendiary*, which gives me great pleasure. It seems Mr. Sharpe is uneasy about Townsend, having not yet received the £1,350 of him which he was to have paid me, and I hope he'll never pay it, nor the money of the last ore where he had promis'd. I know Townsend is in London, but they have not seen him yet. I think your Lordship's putting off coming to town to the 9th Nov. gives them an opening to play tricks. I am sure these people's report may be ready in a few days if you were here to egg them on, for they have now nothing to do but to write their abstract and report. The scheme

[1] I am indebted to Mr. J. H. Davies for a copy of this letter, which is preserved at the British Museum.

of this Ficticious letter may perhaps be taken hold of, if they have a mind for a Colour to put your Lordship's grant off again by sending these Examiners to Cardiganshire, and I presume it wd. not be a disagreeable jaunt for them."

The Examiners' version of Morris's conduct may perhaps be gathered from certain denials subsequently made by him in his Answer. They seem to have alleged that in the course of the examination Morris declined to assist them with such information as he was possessed of, and that they told him they were unable "to reduce his accounts to method or form" unless he supplied them with some further papers, which, however, he did not do, alleging that the documents he had already handed them "contained all his receipts and payments". The result was that the Secretary to the Treasury issued an order, on 21 Nov. 1755, directing the Examiners to proceed to Cardiganshire so that they might there further investigate Morris's accounts. In justice to Morris himself, it should be stated that several passages in the letters which he wrote to his brother during the progress of the examination. tend to corroborate his statement that the Examiners made no complaint, and, in fact, "seemed well pleased" with his explanations.[1]

[1] On 13 October—four days after the commencement of the audit—he writes: "Just now Lord Powys's agent, and John Paynter and self sitting together over a Bowl of Punch in my room." Six days later he reports:—"The examination goes on glibly, *Sion baintiwr yn ddyn rhyfedda fu erioed* [Paynter the strangest man that ever lived], all pride and vanity, and good sense, extraordinary parts, a heap of contradictions." On the 20th he refers in somewhat similar terms to a person whom he calls *Pagan Spardunog*, undoubtedly Paynter. Morris himself is speaking fairly *(finneu'n dywedyd yn deg, &c., &c.)* to the Examiners, who "seem to be convinced of the reality of my case which ye other rascals have a mind to conceal." By the "other rascals" he meant Sharpe, the Solicitor, and West, one of the Secretaries to the Treasury, for he jestingly proceeds to derive the word "scroundel" from the Welsh *Hys cwn*,

Once more Cardiganshire became the scene of action. It was a race from London there between Morris and the Examiners, each party being eager to be first at the mine. But Morris's haste involved him in an accident for on his way home, accompanied no doubt by his nephew, John Owen, who had remained with him in London all the time, he had the misfortune to fall from his horse, and this seems to have enabled the Examiners to reach the mine before him, which they did on 10th December. At Rhayadr, they had been met by William Jones, the agent left in charge of the mine during Morris's absence, but at the mine itself they were unable to obtain possession of the house (called the King's house), which Morris had built for his accommodation as manager. In it, Evan Williams, one of the three partners in the original taking of the mine, was living with his wife and family as caretakers, and as he had previously held possession of it by Morris's directions "tho' attempted often to be thrown out by the sheriff of the county," he who had been "a constant and true friend of the cause of the Crown," refused admittance to the Examiners, as they were strangers to him and he had no knowledge of their authority. Without waiting to eject him, or making any sort of inspection of the mine, the Examiners proceeded immediately to Aberystwyth, which place they made their headquarters.

Down to this stage Morris seems to have maintained—

y drel—"a rhywogaeth y drel hwnnw yw'r Llym yma a'r Gorllewin. O Fileiniaid! ar fedr andwyo dyn ai deulu i borthi eu pendro gythreulig —worse than dogs or serpents". In a letter of the 24th he again describes Paynter as "a grotesquely curious man, but as the steel all the same [*ni welais i erioed ei ail o ddyn gwrthun, ond mae ef fal y dur er hyny*]. Self interest is ye great tye. The last part of my vouchers I delivered to-day, *ag rwyn gobeitho y gwnant report gonest mewn ychydig ddyddiau* [and I hope they will make an honest report in a few days]."

outwardly at all events—his friendly relations with Paynter: "I often attended the Examiners at Aberystwyth and dined and supped with them, and they appeared always very friendly during the course of their examination, and did not require any explanation of me, except the Partners' or Bargain takers' account for the first year (1751)," which was not however forthcoming. But Morris subsequently discovered, according to his statement, that Paynter was all this time plotting his ruin. "At the same time that the Examiners behaved to me so civil, Mr. Paynter told several persons that now he had an opportunity to be reveng'd on me for speaking against him when he was agent of mines to Mr. Corbett, and that he would paint me as black as the devil, and that he would represent me to the Treasury as one ignorant of everything relating to mines."

But the account subsequently given by Morris of the conduct of the Examiners at this time must necessarily be accepted with caution, for allowance should doubtless be made for the fact that this account was not written till after the lapse of some eighteen months; when, moreover, he had to defend himself against charges which were based upon the Examiners' reports as to his stewardship. On the other hand, as Morris's allegations against the Examiners were made in the course of legal proceedings, they were all liable to be rebutted, especially as they related for the most part to specific facts, and such rebuttal would have had the inevitable result of destroying Morris's credit and reputation; and unless there was, therefore, some foundation in fact for his allegations he would scarcely have been so reckless as to place them formally on record in his pleadings.

According to Morris, whose version we think it right to give, subject to the foregoing reservation, the Examiners,

before proceeding to examine the mine, spent five or six weeks[1] "chiefly in visits at the houses of the claimants of the mine," and also "in keeping an open house of revelling, balls and entertainments at Aberystwyth, with harpers and fiddlers," by which means they "persuaded several persons to make complaints against [Morris] in their drunkenness, which they afterwards owned they were sorry for.[2] And the people that they chiefly carress'd

[1] They had a good excuse for not going to the mine, for they could not do so "for frost and snow".

[2] The following is from one of Morris's numerous memoranda: "Mr. Paynter, on his first coming to Cardiganshire on ye examination of my accounts publicly declared in my presence and of several others that the Treasury were so surfeited with affidavits from Cardiganshire they would have no more of them, but that he would take all examinations about my accounts without the ceremony of an oath, and that if anybody had any demands upon me he would pay them on their making their complaints. This occasioned a vast number of poor indigent people to make demands where there was no colour, and several to deny their hands to the receipts they had given, so that according to this way of examination all my payments might be strück off, if all the persons concerned had as little conscience as some had."

Elsewhere he states that "they took down in writing whatever any drunken fellow, whom they had treated, had the conscience to say against me, telling him beforehand that he need not be on oath—and this in a country where I had made me so many enemies on the King's account, by endeavouring to maintain his right."

Among the specific instances which Morris gives are the following:—"Two of the Partners were made drunk at the Examiners' lodgings, being persuaded by Mr. Paynter to make complaints which they were told need not be on oath, and that he would make me pay them more money, and offered to help them to file a bill in Chancery against me. When they grew sober they came to me and own'd what they had done, and sign'd papers (which I have) testifying to the contrary."

There is also a note stating that the wife of one of the washers in the bargain of 1751, was given a guinea by Paynter at Lord Lisburne's house, with the view of her proving that she had washed more ore than was accounted for, &c., but when told by Morris's nephew, John Owen, that later on she would be required to substantiate her statement upon oath, she also retracted.

and entertained in those revells were the very people that always opposed the title of the Crown to the mine, and were [Morris's] utter enemies on that account."[1] Moreover, Morris complained that the Examiners, though they had paid only one visit to his house, which was near to their lodgings, "were frequently at the Houses of Mr. Powell and Lord Lisburn, who had given the Crown so much trouble by claiming the mine, and there examined the persons who Mr. Powell and Ld. Lisburn could persuade to say anything against me because I had so strenuously defended the King's right against them".

Either the Examiners were not empowered to take evidence on oath, or they elected not to do so, for it appears that they obtained all their information by means of unsworn testimony, that Morris was never allowed to be present when witnesses were examined, and that they "never would let him know what complaints there were against him [so as] to give him an opportunity of clearing himself, though he expressly desired of them to let him bring persons to answer some complaints that he had heard had been made."

[1] Another memorandum contains the following serious allegation:—

"To aggravate the country against me on their examination, Mr. Paynter read publicly the letters I had wrote to Mr. Sharpe and others during my maintaining and disputing the rights of the Crown with Lord Lisburn and Mr. Powell, which I presume were given him for the purpose by Mr. Sharpe, and as I am inform'd Mr. Paynter gave up to Mr. Powell and Lord Lisburn my original letters to Mr. Sharpe, to see if they could get any handle against me. This is a proceeding never used by any person or office, to expose their Agent or Attorney's letters, who perhaps might be sometimes too warm in his expressions, when ill-used by his antagonists, but it is however a Caveat to others never to be too faithful to their trust when employ'd by the Government, lest some of those they oppose should turn to be useful members in the House of Commons, as Lord Lisburn's son and Mr. Townsend now are."

Morris claimed that he had given to the Examiners, so far as they would permit him, all the assistance in his power, and especially that he had delivered to them all his books of account relating to the period of his superintendence. Paynter, however, wrote to him that "some folks (such were his words) thought it would be proper they should see the Partners' accounts for the year 1721," to which Morris replied that owing to the bargain-takers being illiterate no regular accounts had been kept, and that moreover the venture of 1751 was "a private concern", as to the receipts and expenses of which the Crown could not justly demand an account. But even in this respect he seems to have made some concession later, for, referring to the matter in his Answer, he states that the Examiners "might, if they had thought proper, have settled and adjusted the account of ore got out of the mine in 1751, as he had delivered to them the accounts of the sale of the said ore, and all the names of the Buyers, who were all to be spoke with," but what enquiries they had made of the merchants who bought the ore, Morris was unable to say.

On 22 January 1756, the Examiners "contrived an artful malicious letter" to Morris, complaining that a caretaker, by his directions, withheld from them possession of the King's house at the mine, "against the order of the Lords of the Treasury." Two days later, without waiting for Morris's reply, they wrote to West at the Treasury, enclosing a copy of their letter of the 22nd, and alleging that Morris would not suffer any of the King's servants to go near them, a statement which, he says, after Euclid's manner, was absurd, as there were then no King's servants to be so prevented, all having been discharged above a twelvemonth before, except William Jones, the agent, and some twelve pumpers "who were always in the mine and at the Examiners' command";

all which the solicitor to the Treasury (Sharpe) "knew very well, though to aggravate the Treasury and to promote Mr. Paynter, he wink'd at this falsehood that I hinder'd the King's servants to appear." There was nothing left to the Examiners, so they seem to have represented, but "to proceed in the best manner they could, without the inspection of such books and papers as Morris had withheld from them"; while as further proof of their assiduity, or "to prolong time", they also examined the custom-house books, though Morris explained to them that "no officers of the customs enter in their books out of what mine any ore comes, no more than out of what farm any corn comes."

On 26 January, they wrote to Morris informing him that, by the authority of the Treasury, they revoked and determined his superintendency of the mine, and that he would have further directions concerning the Balance "pretended by them" to remain in his hands as soon as their report had been considered by the Treasury. At the same time, or very shortly after, Paynter himself was entrusted by the Treasury with the management of the mine, an object which had been secured, so Morris contended, "by malicious and false representations" of his conduct.

The Examiners presented two distinct accounts, one of which, described as drawn up from such books as Morris had thought fit to produce to them, showed a balance of £2,910 11*s.* 3*d.* due from him to the Crown. The other, in the preparation of which the Examiners had "considered themselves as two indifferent Referees, abstracted from all prejudices, collusions, or misbehaviour in him (Morris) and made him all just and reasonable allowances," showed as due from him, a balance of £3,468 5*s.* 1*d.* In the bill of complaint subsequently filed against Morris, the former

sum was claimed on an account stated, while the latter sum was claimed in the alternative. These results were obtained by striking out many payments which Morris claimed to have made (*e.g.*, in respect of "double stems" worked), and also disallowing his salary, "alleging, perhaps from their ignorance of these things, that he deserved no salary."

No balance was, however, demanded of Morris, nor was the result of the investigation directly communicated to him, though shortly after the Examiners' return to London it was commonly reported that "some officers of the Treasury wanted to arrest his body for about £3,000." But he lost no time in going himself to London, where he arrived on 22 March, not to return home till about Christmas 1757, or possibly the beginning of 1758.

As he believed that his opponents were plotting his ruin, it was necessary, if possible, to check their machinations, and in sheer self-defence go in for counter-plotting. A break in the correspondence leaves us, however, in the dark as to what was being done between April and July. The veil is lifted by the following letter or report written to the Lords of the Treasury by their solicitor, John Sharpe, on 28 July 1756.

"In obedience to your Lordships' commands signify'd to me by Mr. Harding's letter of the 16th July instant, I have laid the several reports of Messrs. Painter and Tidy concerning the conduct of Mr. Lewis Morris, agent to the King's mines in Wales, and the state of his accounts, and their report of the value and condition of the mine at Esgair-y-mwyn, with the authority given to those gentlemen, with a proper state of the case drawn up by me, before Mr. Attorney General, and have taken his opinion touching the method by which the King's interest in the said mine may be most properly secured, whether by a lease thereof in the manner proposed in one of the said reports, or by what other method, and also what will be the best method of recovering the money due from Mr. Morris, and I herewith lay before your Lordships the said case with Mr. Attorney General's opinion."

The subsequent course of events enable us to infer the purport of that Opinion. Meanwhile, however, another blow was aimed at Morris by his dismissal, early in August, from the collectorship at Aberdovey. Writing to his brother at Holyhead on 28 August, he said that the Duke of Newcastle solemnly assured him that he was not privy to his dismissal—that it was the work of other people.[1] But, observes Morris,

"He dare not refuse the Jacobites anything they ask, an odd mortal, without bottom or solidity. I know they'll carry their spight against me to ye utmost, and [he] hath neither courage nor honesty to stop them, but there will come a time soon that the scenes will be chang'd."

It was well on in the following year before he had much to communicate to his brother as to the dispute with the Treasury. Meanwhile he busily occupied himself with preparing a cabinet of mineralogical specimens, which he intended for, and eventually presented to, the Earl of Powis. He was also keenly interested in Lord Powis's endeavour to obtain a lease of Esgair-y-mwyn mine from the Crown, a project which Paynter also favoured and worked for, but for ulterior objects of his own which Morris had as yet no suspicion of. "Who knows but I shall go again to Wales *Deheubartheg*," he optimistically exclaims on receipt of a letter from Lord Powis that everything was going on all right. "I find," Morris writes (25 Sept. 1756), "that Smedley came to town a few days ago by ye direction" of Harding of the Treasury, a bitter opponent of Morris's party, but after offering 40*s*. per ton royalty, he hurried home, incontinently complaining that he had been made a fool of, as the lease would be granted to Lord Powis, whatever royalty his Lordship offered. Townsend also offered "twice

[1] "Am fy materion i, yr un fath er pan sgrifennais ddiweddaf. Fe dyng y Cast. newydd na wyr ef ddim oddiwrth fy hel i o Ddyfi, ond mae gwaith pobl ereill oedd."

as much as the thing would pay", but "he was too light in the scales against Lord Powis, tho' he had another member to be a partner with him (Vaughan of Crosswood) and it seems he could not give proper security. However Smedley has been a complaining to a friend of his that nobody has any chance with Lord Powis, for that he insisted upon having it, and he could lead ye *Morthwyl mawr* as he pleas'd."

Meanwhile Paynter was down at Esgair-y-mwyn, "going on after the same wild manner, building and throwing down . . . . even in the depth of winter" (30 Nov. 1756)—"driving levels, sinking engine shafts, rioting, &c., &c." (4 Feb. 1757), but slipping away for a few days at Christmas, apparently to visit Lord Powis at Oakley Park. But "these things will be over by and by," says the poet, "and that honest *Iuddew* [Jew] known there as well as in other places." Even Powell, of Nanteos, declared that Paynter was not to be trusted, and that Morris would once more return to the mine. So firmly did Morris believe this himself that he instructed "honest Evan William" to purchase about £200 worth of timber in the district, so that Lord Powis could have it to work the mine, but "for certain reasons" it was "bought in Evan Williams's name" (Jan. 1, 1757). During the winter months, Morris was much troubled with asthma and a persistent cough, which prevented his resting in a prone position. An illness of Lord Powis's also delayed matters, but the lease of Esgair-y-mwyn from the Treasury to his lordship was eventually signed on February 24th, 1757. "God knows how it will affect me!" was Morris's comment to his brother.

His lordship shortly afterwards, in addition to this lease, appears to have obtained a lease of the manors of Myfenydd and Creuddyn, and all mines and minerals

within those manors except Esgair-y-mwyn, the rent reserved being £2 for the manors, £2 for the mines, and one-tenth of the ore. This second lease expired on 2 April 1788, its term probably being thirty-one years, which was then the usual term for mineral leases from the Crown.

It was probably with a view to these leases that Morris had presented Lord Powis, in December 1756, with his histories of the manors of Creuddyn and Myfenydd.

Not long after this, Morris thought that Lord Powis's manner towards him was less cordial than it used to be. At first he fancied that this arose from an unreadiness on his lordship's part to refund the money which he had paid for the timber, and he now feared that in so paying, he had done "an indiscreet thing". He was probably nearer the mark as to the cause of the estrangement when he informed his brother (6 May 1759) that Paynter was in London, "pushing his long nose no doubt into Ld. P.'s ears."[1] It is, at all events, clear that Lord Powis retained Paynter as his agent and manager of the mine at Esgair-y-mwyn.

Moreover, the change of Ministry which happened about this time did not prove to Morris's advantage. Early in

[1] Paynter's departure from Esgair-y-mwyn had been somewhat mysterious, and Morris believed that he had escaped in disgrace or in fear of the law (letter of 8 April 1757):—"A messenger from London arrived in that neighbourhood [Esgair-y-mwyn] ye 26th March, and 27th early before the man came Paynter took horses and slipt away to Salop, and some think to London. I suppose his pride and folly reached ye ears of ye Treasury, and that they sent a man to supersede him. I believe in my heart he has drawn Arg. Po[wis] into a scrape. . . . . . . The London messenger, after looking about him, and seeing Paynter had given him ye slip, went back to London, and a change happens in the Ministry at that very crisis, nobody can pretend to determine how it will turn out." And then he introduces a morsel of folklore which is worth preserving: "It is surprising what confusions money will make. Is it any wonder that the d——l should sit cross-legged in *ogo maen cymrwd* to guard the treasures there."

May, proceedings were launched against him to recover the balance which Paynter and Tidy had reported as still due from him to the Treasury. John Owen was joined as co-defendant, "with a view to take off his evidence from being on his (Morris's) side". Writing to William Morris on 13 May, he says :—

"My Treasury enemies caused him [J. Owen] to be served with an Exchequer writ ye beginning of this month, at ye suit of ye Attorney-genl. by Information. . . . I had notice of it beforehand and ordered him out of ye way, but he was so Hypd. [? Hypochondriacal] that he could not move an inch, or did not think my information was of any consequence. You see what low shifts my enemies are put to, to seek out for matter of Information against me, for this is intended for that purpose. Ond ebr yr hen ddihareb ni thwyllwyd a rybuddiwyd ; felly minneu wnaf y goreu o'r gwaethaf."

He probably owed his early knowledge of these proceedings to some friendly official at the Treasury, for on 21 May he writes :—"I have opened a door into 'r *drysorfa*, a kind of a private access, by which I shall discover the intentions of men. I wish I had seen it sooner, but this was only a work of providence, and could not be sooner." By the end of May, a bill of "three skins of parchment" had been filed against himself and Owen. It is signed by Robert Harley (the Attorney-General) and George Perrott, and is still preserved at the Record Office, where also are to be seen the Answer of the two defendants, and the Crown's Exceptions thereto, both of which will be referred to later. Owen's presence in London now became necessary, and, on 18 June, Morris wrote to his wife (who had removed to Penbryn in the spring) bidding her despatch Owen to London with all speed, and giving directions as to the journey. "The neighbours need not know where he goes that they may not have business to talk." He also gave instructions "to push Cwmervin on", but owing to heavy floods during the summer, the output there fell short of what it might otherwise have been. As to Esgair-y-

mwyn, Paynter had now returned, but there was "no work (raising ore) going on yet". As to the lawsuit, "I am fighting them now in equity", he writes to his brother (18 June), "and have the same Counsel as was against the King in the great trial.[1] Must not I change sides as well as others?" He was busily preparing his answer, which was to be filed during the Michaelmas term. But he also devoted much time to literary work and scientific research. It was at this period that he wrote the greater part of his *Celtic Remains*; he also made a collection of coins, and studied their inscriptions; he presented his brother William with a microscope, which he had made with his own hands. Writing to William on 28 September he sends him important news from Cardiganshire:—

"This post brings me news that Johnes, of Abermaid, was on ye 21st instant carried to Cardigan Jail by a mob of 100 men, and that about a 100 men of his mob, hearing of his being decoyed into their snare, have marched on ye 23rd at night to Cardigan to carry him off. We shall hear next post, I suppose, of a Battle there. Herbert Lloyd decoy'd him into their trap, who pretended to be his bosom friend. *Lladdant eu gilydd a chroeso. A Duw gatwo'r gwirion.*"

Some ten days later he gives further news of this flare-up (*rhyfel bentan*) between the factions of Abermaid and Llanvair y Clywedogau (*sic*):—

"140 men of a side or more. Abermaid hath several allies, Nanteos, Trawsgoed, Aberllolwyn, and Llandudoch. Llanvair hath strong allies, colliers from Pembrokeshire, miners of Es(gair) y mwyn, Grogwynion, Llwyn y gwyddyl, Lewis Llanchairon, &c., all under arms. You never heard of such madness since the attempt or attack formerly on Esgair y mwyn."

The attempted rescue seems to have proved unavailing, for on 18 October Morris reported that Johnes was then

[1] The Counsel who subsequently settled the defendants' answer, and also argued on their behalf against the exceptions thereto, was Edmund Starkie. Morris's attorney was Thomas Cross, of Wine Office Court, who was a member of the Cymmrodorion Society, his qualification being that his mother was a Welsh woman.

in the King's Bench, "where he was like to end his wicked life," but the writer had no sympathy to waste on him. The great county quarrel was in his eyes a case of "dog eat dog." Paynter, on the other hand, was "cutting a most astonishing figure" in Cardiganshire, "building, taking great farms, &c., in short, driving "ten times hotter than Jehu." Towards the end of October, he (accompanied by his brother) went up to London, leaving the work on stop, except one small level, and, as Morris heard, hatching some plots against himself, which was likely enough. "If the Treasury want a tool of destruction, he is the fittest man in the world for it." On Dec. 1, in a postscript to a letter of the previous day, Morris mentions a rumour that Lord Powis had surrendered his lease of Esgair-y-mwyn to the Treasury owing to the unprofitableness of the undertaking: "If it is so," adds Morris, "there is one of Paynter's tricks in it, for there has been a vast deal of unnecessary work done there since they began, of levels, shafts, building of houses, and great wells and ponds, &c., and I am told all brought to ye account of ye mine under the title of labour, in order to induce the Treasury to grant a lease on better terms."[1]

Meanwhile, the end of the long vacation was drawing near, and Morris's Answer was not yet ready; he had to urge on his lawyer, and even drank hard with him so as to "drive instructions into him." "According to my de-

[1] Some further references to this matter are given in the Appendix. It would appear that Lord Powis did, in fact, surrender his lease, and that a new one was subsequently granted to him, on easier terms, for a lease of Esgair-y-mwyn to him (at a rent of 5*s.* a year and $\frac{1}{8}$th of the ore) expired on the 20 Dec. 1795, when no new lease was granted (*see* Whittle Harvey's Returns of the Land Revenues of the Crown 1831, p. 24). In a subsequent return (Appendix 3 to *Report of Land Rev. of the Crown* 1833), there is this note as to Esgair-y-mwyn: "These mines were some years since surrendered to the Crown by Lord Clive."

mands", he adds, "they owe me above two thousand pounds, and as yet I don't know what will be the consequence." The result of this dilatoriness was reported by Morris in a letter of 14 November 1757.[1]

"For want of bringing in our Answer the first day of term, owing to the Tardiness of my Lawyers, there is an attachment taken out against Jo. Owen and self in order to make us give bail to stand a trial. But they shall not attack me unless they break doors," while he had also warned his nephew.

At last the formal Answer was, however, sworn to by the defendants before Chief Baron Parker on 25 November 1757. In it Morris, of course, denied that there was due from him to the Treasury the sum of £3,468 claimed, or any other sum. On the contrary, Morris insisted that if a fair account were taken of his receipts and payments, and of the proper allowances, which ought in justice to be made to him, and which he humbly hoped would be allowed him as set forth in the two schedules annexed to his Answer, there would appear to be justly due to him (defendant) the sum of £2,385 1*s*. This amount was made up as follows:—

Expenses while in Cardigan jail, 41 days at 2 guineas a day, £86 2*s*.; damages for assault and false imprisonment, £500; expenses in London after being bailed out, 155 days from 4 April to 6 Sept. 1753, £325 10*s*.; expenses attending the trial, 55 days from 26 April to 19 June 1754, £115 10*s*.; expenses and journey of himself and John Owen "to London by the order of the officers of the Treasury, to settle his accounts with the Treasury, being out 305 days, from 21 January 1755, to the 21st November following, at 3 guineas a day for both, £960 15*s*.; salary

[1] By a slip he has written 1755, but internal evidence proves that beyond doubt it should be 1757.

as superintendent of Esgair-y-mwyn mine from 1 Jan. to 26 Feb. 1756 (at the rate of £500 a year), £578 1*s.* 7*d.*; cash paid on 2 April 1755 by order of Sharpe to Stephen Edwards, Attorney, "for business done in the defence of the said mine", £118 17*s.* 3*d.*; payments since the delivery of his accounts:—to the Examiners under 5 separate orders from the Treasury, £404 7*s.* 9*d.*, and expenses of the mine from 3 January 1755 (*i.e.* the date to which his abstract had been made up) to 28 Feb. 1756, "with other bills inserted in this account by Paynter and Tidy of their own private expenses," (which the Under-Agent at the mine was ordered by them to pay), £385 18*s.* 10*d.* All these items made up a total of £3,475 2*s.* 5*d.*, out of which there was to be deducted the sum of £1,090 1*s.* 5*d.*, which Morris, in his abstract, admitted to be the cash in his hands on 3 January 1755, leaving a balance in his favour of £2,385 1*s.* For most (if not all) of his disbursements, Morris had vouchers, and, in many cases, specific orders also.

It was characteristic of Morris that on the very day on which he attended before Chief Baron Parker to have his Answer sworn to, he should also occupy himself with copying *Cyfoesi Myrddin a Gwendydd* ("a monstrous long thing of 128 stanzas of *Engl*[*ynion*] *milwr*") and *Marwnad Trahaern Brydydd*, besides writing one of his usual long letters to his brother William. A fortnight later (15 Dec. 1757) he writes again to William, and mentions that with a view to returning home he had packed the greater part of his impedimenta in some ten boxes which he intended directed to Mathavarn (Mont.), whence he could have them home by degrees. He was uncertain whether he could leave London before Christmas. But his return home was not long postponed, and his protracted absence of some 21 months was at last brought to

an end. His nephew, John Owen, however, remained behind in London, though no regular employment had yet been secured him, and in a few months time "he shew'd great uneasiness at being detained in such an inactive, precarious state of suspense." Morris was perhaps not able to sympathise with his nephew's restlessness any more than with his brother Richard's easy-going temper.[1]

The next step in the Exchequer suit was that the Attorney-General,[2] as the informant, took Exceptions against Morris's Answer as "imperfect, evasive and insufficient." The Exceptions, which were nine in number, were filed on 13 February 1758, and were set down for argument on the 25th. The interval was too short to obtain instructions from Morris in Cardiganshire, so "instead of coming to a hearing upon the insufficiency of the Answer," his Attorney, Thomas Cross, moved for an adjournment till the ensuing term, "which with some difficulty was obtained." At the same time "a peremptory rule was made either to submit to amend and put in a full Answer by the next term or argue the Exceptions." At this critical period Cross was deprived of the assistance, not only of Morris himself, owing to his being in Wales, but also of Richard Morris, who was away at Portsmouth attending a Court Martial. The Attorney, however, laid the whole case before Counsel, and also wrote to Morris (2 March 1758) for full instructions.

"Whatever intimation or hopes you might have given you before

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[1] "Dyma fi yn ymadel a Sion [Owen], fal y gallo fynd i'r mor neu'r mynydd: a thoughtless vain lad, God help him. Ac ydyw'r Gardiwr wyf yn i adel arno [Richard Morris] fawr well." Owen was still in London in May 1758, but he eventually went to sea.

[2] Camden Pratt (afterwards 1st Lord Camden), by this time held office.

you left London," he tells him, "they seem determined to shew you no favour.

"If the last exception to your answer should hold, the proceedings will be extended to an endless length. The books delivered in by you, as apprehended, are no more than quarterly payments. You are wanted to account from the first entries or journals, which if destroyed when the quarterly books were made up, will be looked upon and construed as done to serve certain ends."

Morris's instructions to Cross were contained in a letter dated "Penbryn, March 13th 1758". He could prepare no further account, as all his books and vouchers were in the hands of the Examiners, and the only further answer that he could give would be to refer to Paynter and Tidy's acknowledgment of the documents which he had delivered to them, and to state that they had also received from the under-agents the day-books, "to be examined with the quarter-books", and that the Examiners had "detained these as well as the rest," but "they gave no receipt for the day-books." As a good deal depended on these day-books, Morris gives the following account of the way they were kept:—

"The first entries, or day-books, of the transactions of the mine were not made by me but by ye several under agents who were on ye spot, and who I superintended, and the books containing the quarterly payments are actual entries made by the under agents of each particular miner's account, of work done, and subsistence received within that quarter, and posted as soon as possible by the under agents out of the day-books from time to time, and prepared for me by them against the quarter's end, at which time I my self paid the people their ballance publicly and took their receipts under their accounts in the said original journals or Quarter Books, attested by some person that could write his name, of which there are not many among miners. No day-books were destroyed by me, nor could it be my interest, but in a great measure I neglected them after I had examined and compared the accounts in the Quarter Books with the day books, and accounted with ye under agents for the money I had left in their hands to subsist the mine."

Morris contended that no account ought to be based on

the day-books, but only on the quarter-books, which were all properly attested, "each miner setting his hand to a receipt under his account." Furthermore, "the times of my quarterly payments were always proclaimed, and I paid publicly at ye mine in the presence of all the miners." As the Exceptions would come on for argument in the ensuing term, Morris instructed Cross to retain "the ablest Counsel that you can get, and as many as are sufficient." As to the possibility of mediation by some friend at Court, Morris writes:—"You mistook me if you thought I expected any favour from the officers till application was made to them, which is not yet made, but depends upon other circumstances which may or may not come to pass."

During the next two months Richard Morris acquainted his brother in Cardiganshire "how his affair with the Crown and ye Exchequer was being transacted." It had turned out rather unfavourably to Morris, as may be seen by the following extract from a letter written to him by his Attorney, Cross, on 20 May 1758.

"On the 29th April (after being put off three several times, twice on your part and once by the Crown) the Exceptions came on to be argued. The two first were got over, but the 3rd being allow'd, all the subsequent, by the rules and practices of the Exchequer, were likewise allow'd *with costs*, which I shall pay, as I have engag'd, as soon as I can get the bill from the Clerk in Court.

"The Monday following, the Crown, upon motion, obtained an order to amend their bill or information, and that you and Mr. [John] Owen shall answer the same at the time of answering the Exceptions. This procedure will in some measure be instituting the suit *de novo*. As yet they have not given notice of their amendment, tho' I expect they will by the first day of the ensuing term. I presume that it was from the arguments and observations of Mr. Starkie (who did not spare them) that they discovered their own defects.

"If the names of certain personages (who you flattered yourself would be your friends), had been set forth as they ought, it might have been eventually of more service than all their promises. It's

strongly insinuated that you have withheld and secreted several material books relative to the mine account, which, if produced, will discover great frauds, which I apprehend will be the principal additional charge. . . . . The affair, from the nature of it, must terminate in an account to be stated and settled between you and the Crown. But the time when, or the manner how, that might happen seems at present very remote and doubtful. That it is intended to be made as tedious and expensive to you as possible, is beyond question."

Owing to Morris's absence from London, Cross expressed his intention to try and get an extension of time till Michaelmas term for answering the amended bill and Exceptions. Whether the amended bill was ever delivered, and if so, when, and what manner of answer (if any) was made to it, I am unable to say, as the documents before me throw no light on the subject. But the trial itself never came on, nor was any account decreed to be taken. Some friends of Morris advised him to make an end of the dispute with the Treasury "in a summary way", and they promised to assist him with that object. How the compromise was to be effected does not appear, but at all events Morris wrote (from Penbryn) to his brother Richard, on 5 January 1760, asking him to obtain from Cross all the documents in the case. "The sooner you have them the better, for you'll be called upon very soon at the Navy Office for the papers, and I hope the affair will have the desired effect." To Cross himself he wrote on the same date the following letter, which is the last in this bundle relating to the law suit:

"As I am advised and promised assistance to get clear of the dispute I have with the officers of the Treasury, in a summary way, you are upon receipt of this to deliver to my brother, Richard Morris, of the Navy Office, all papers that I have left in your hands, as also of the proceedings since, that there may be no loss of time. And I desire and direct you will not proceed any further in that affair in my defence or otherwise."

That a settlement out of Court was eventually arrived at, there can be no doubt, but there is nothing in the papers now before me to show what were the terms agreed upon. Morris's numerous enemies seem to have spread about the report that he had been defeated and ruined—and as bad news travel far, this story was told even to Goronwy Owen in far Virginia by a Merionethshire parson, who emigrated to America in 1763 or shortly after.[1] There is reason to believe, however, that the settlement did not involve any dishonour or disgrace on Morris, though the litigation undoubtedly proved very costly to him, and its anxieties told heavily on his constitution. At home in Cardiganshire he does not seem to have lost any of the respect in which he was previously held, though he still had his enemies. In 1760 he was admitted a burgess of the Borough of Aberystwyth, and in the following year he was placed on the Commission of the Peace for the county of Cardigan, though it is doubtful whether he ever qualified.

Other law-suits, however, still continued to claim his attention. Writing to William from Penbryn, Sept. 3, 1761, he says:—"My wife set out yesterday to Cardigan and Haverfordwest, on account of some troubles in the Bishop's Court given by the most reverend Wm. Powel, of Nanteos, in relation to her father and mother's personal effects, who died intestate."[2] Then referring to another action, he says:—"We are on the brink of making

[1] *See Llythyrau Goronwy Owen*, ed. Professor J. Morris Jones (1895), p. 135. "Sion ap Huw, Cymro o Feirionydd . . . . a ddywed, i mi fod fy Nghyfaill Lewis Morys wedi cael ei daflu yn y Gyfraith, ai ddiswyddo ai ddifetha, cyn iddo adael Cymru; ond nis clywai mo'i farw."

[2] The same letter has the following:—"Nid oes yma ddim ond Cyfreithio ac aflwydd a dyryswch, a chlefydon—very disagreeable companions."

some end in Chancery about the mortgage of Dan y Castell.[1] *Och yn nghalonnau 'r Cyfreithwyr cas.*" In a later letter (20 Oct. 1761) he refers probably to the same action. He had been away from the 3rd to the 15th, in various parts of Cardiganshire and Carmarthenshire and at Brecon, searching for certain deeds to enable him to answer a Bill of Powel's (doubtless of Nanteos): "I have met with some intelligence that I hope will give him a fall, with his iniquitous scheme." But more than three years had still to pass before Powel's suit against him was determined, as may be seen from a letter sent by him on 18 Jan. 1765 to his brother-in-law, Owen Davies, of Holyhead (quoted later on).

During this time his health was, however, rapidly failing. Each winter he was prostrated by asthma. "A salt herring boil'd and eaten with boil'd eggs" gave him ease, so also did raw oysters, which had much liquor in them, "muscles and cockles in their own liquor boil'd, in short all sea fish which had plenty of the sea salt in them." At other times, rheumatism or gout crippled him. He complained, in a letter of 23 April 1760, that he could only get about on a pair of crutches.

In view of a Parliamentary contest in Cardiganshire in the spring of 1761, he was anxious to be well enough to go to Cardigan to support the Whig candidate, John Pugh Pryse, of Gogerddan, but it would cost him his life (he wrote on 13 Feb.) unless he could have a chaise to travel in; but when a Whig was picked for the shrievalty,[2] the

[1] A paragraph in an earlier letter (dated 11 Oct. 1757), refers to this mortgage:—"Powell Nanteos told my wife the other day, *Well I believe we shall be friends again*, and offered to take the interest on the mortgage, and the principal too, being in great want of money he pretended. I don't know as yet how my affairs here will turn out, therefore it is no proper time to pay money."

[2] Walter Lloyd, of Coedmor.

opposition of Vaughan of Trawscoed (who had sat in the previous Parliament) and of his staunch supporter, the squire of Nanteos, crumbled away.[1] Morris was thus relieved of the journey to Cardigan. Not long after, he seems to have had a slight paralytic seizure, but on 27 July he was able to write to his brother William, though with a less steady hand, to report that he was then gaining a little strength—*ond yn bur fusgrell ac yn benhoeden dros ben:* "I have the vertigo as described by Dr. Shaw, but sometimes in both eyes, and only one of them is partly blind, with bright oblique pillars and coloured flowers playing in the optic nerve. . . . I hate vomiting and cupping, and I can get nobody to bleed me in the jugular as Shaw directs." "A vial of that extra-ordinary spirit the æther of Liverpoole" gave some relief, though in mid-September he was unable to walk for shortness of breath. Early in October he was, however, able to journey to Brecon as already mentioned, but he was somewhat worse after his "laborious ride".

Vertigo and gout troubled him again,[2] and he discusses with his brother various remedies for these and other complaints. For years past, he had paid considerable attention to the study of medicine, one of his chief author-

[1] On 1st March 1761, he writes:—"Maent yn dywedyd fod Trawsgoed a Phowel yn Ildio gwedi ini gael siryf o'n hochr ni. Wrth hyny roeddynt o'r blaen yn ymddiried, sef cael false return." On 29 March he adds:—"We are not certain yet whether Trawsgoed will make any show of opposition, but we suppose they will not. However, our people are upon their guard." Pryse was returned unopposed on 20 April.

[2] "Eich brawd troetrwm Lln." is his signature to a letter of 21 Dec. 1761, to William. This letter contains a reference to the printing press which Morris had set up in 1735 at Bodedern, Anglesey, and which he had never disposed of. He asks William—"Pwy ydyw'r argraffydd a fynai brynu y wasg? Oni phrynnir hi, gwell ini ei chael yma o dippyn i dippyn."

rities being Dr. Shaw's *New Practice of Physic.* He seems to have thus acquired no little skill both in medicine and surgery. Referring to the Bloody Flux, which he describes as being "very rife about the waterside of Llansantffred, Llanrhystyd, &c.," in Cardiganshire, he details the process of its cure which he "formerly used at Aberffraw and cured Hundreds." Mining enterprise continued to attract him despite his enfeebled health. In 1760 he recommenced operations at Cwmervin.[1] In May 1761 he procured very detailed information about a small copper mine on Tan y garreg in the parish of Bettws, Carnarvon, with the view of buying that and an adjoining farm called Bryn y Glog. A few days before Christmas 1761 (when he had with him at Penbryn a merry juvenile party consisting of six of his own children and three grandchildren from Mathafarn) he asked William for news of Sion Dwyran and the mines of Anglesey. Early in 1762 he commenced mining operations on Llain y felin—"part of a lease on Mr. Pryse's ground in my holding." "The mines have a very promising aspect," he writes on 8 March; "attending on them will add to my health if my torn constitution can hold out," but "a sudden rain after a hard frost brought a sad fit of the asthma last night." He procured a white goat to supply him with milk, but continued very feeble till well on in the summer.

He hoped to get well enough to go and see some mineral property in North Wales, particulars of which he

[1] In a letter written in 1760 by Lewis to his brother at the Navy Office, he says:—"I begin to clear Cwm Ervin again, in hopes of a peace—*Rhwng Ned Huws feddw feddal, a Jack Owen ddifeddwl*—Cwm Ervin has been hundreds of pounds out of my way. Goginan is to be sold: I am anxious to have it. *Mi wn fod mwyn iw gael yno, ped fai eiddo fi:* it is as rich ore as any in the county, and just at the door of my house." (*See* Davies' *Agricultural Survey of S. Wales*, ii, 513.)

wished his brother to obtain from good Jack Salisbury. He might take a lease of it, or could, at all events, advise its owner—"*yr unbennes*" (query the Dowager Lady Watkin Wynn)—as to how to let it to advantage. But most probably the journey was never taken. On 21 Jan. 1763 he signed an agreement for a lease for twenty-one years, of the minerals under Troed rhiw las, the property of William Jones, of Dol y clettwr, in Llangynfelin. But, even to his last day, no mine could have interested him so much as distant Esgair-y-mwyn, now in Lord Powis's hands, though he was fully conscious that his connection with it had for ever ceased, and that others were to reap the benefit of his labours in the early stages of its development. When news reached him from time to time of the way it was now being managed (or as he thought mis-managed), and how the interests of Lord Powis were being betrayed, he must have yearned for a few more years of health and strength, though he also knew that his days were already numbered. However, he could at least write once more to Lord Powis, give him the benefit of his own experience, and warn him against some who would only betray his confidence. This he did about the middle of July 1763, and as this was perhaps the last letter of any importance that he wrote to anyone outside his family, a lengthy extract from it may be given.[1]

"My Lord. I recd. your favour of the 30 June, and am very glad my poor endeavours seem to have pleasd you, but to understand me the better it may not be amiss to let your Lordship know that my Scituation is very particular and uncommon: I am neither in want nor in great plenty, but enjoy contentment of mind. I have no connection with any people in power and am not sollicitous of

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[1] This letter was not included in the bundle originally submitted to me, but came to my hands after most of this article had been printed off.

obtaining any favours except it was a sinecure, my hands and feet being scarcely fit for any business of activity at present. I find myself by the decay of my materials to be drawing towards a dissolution, and my passions, which are few, I am not over fond of gratifying. I have hit on ungrateful masters in the Treasury, and I look on all the pains I have taken to come at knowledge as thrown away foolishly by a mistaken application; so that my whole life has been in a manner a cypher. When I am gone hence all that I have at present any care of are a wife and 7 small children, the welfare of whom it is my duty to study, that they may not be a load on the world. My other children and grand-children are provided for pretty well. And this is the chief reason that makes me trouble myself at all as to what comes after my time. The few friends that have assisted me in my troubles I look upon as my guardian angels, among whom your Lordship was my chief prop, and I look upon the remainder of my life as entirely your property, to dispose of it as you please. I shall set no price upon it, nor desire any, but wish it was worth your acceptance in some shape or other. If you can hit upon the way, perhaps it might be of some small service to you. Your affairs in this country, I know, if carried on with good œconomy may be made of vast consequence, and without proper œconomy they may either, by an extravagant scheming head, or a miserable griping hand, be not only of small profit to your Lordship, but ruind. . . . . The height of the art is in rearing a mine-work from nothing under all difficulties imaginable, defending it from encroachers, and making room for several hundred of men to get their bread and profit to their employers. This I did at Esgair y mwyn, and the world sees how they rewarded me. The very persons that oppos'd me and who strived to thwart the Treasury, as Ball, Townsend, Jonas, &c., have been the people that reapd most of the profit from it."

He then refers to Sharpe's endeavours to ruin him for no reason, but that he had been

"So imprudent and honest as to oppose that infamous sale of the ore on bank to Townsend, who choused not only those wise heads of the Treasury, but also Powell and Lord Lisburn who expected great things from that well contrived purchase of Jno. Williams's right, after they had been fairly non-suited. And Townsend's attempt to get the Lease between him and Vaughan of Crosswood should not be forgot."

But these things were irretrievable, and as their repetition was likely to carry the writer beyond his " just

bounds", he proceeded to refer to "some things that might be serviceable" to his lordship. He gives minute particulars as to how an exhaustive survey of the manors leased to Lord Powis should be carried out. He also warns Lord Powis, in the plainest terms, against certain "sharks" whom he had admitted into his confidence, though he was "happy in the acquaintance and friendship of Mr. Herbert, whose long experience must have made him a proficient in mining" and capable of judging whether Morris advised his lordship rightly.[1]

There is something of the old feudal relation in his loyalty to Lord Powis, and few things could be more convincing as to the injustice that Morris suffered at the hands of the Treasury officials than his pathetic reference to the manner they had "rewarded him".

At his home at Penbryn, he still had his consolations. One source of great pleasure to him was his garden, with

[1] Morris also refers to three enclosures (marked A, B, and C), which were to be forwarded with his letter, and contained some damaging information about Ball and Townsend. Owing to his difficulty in writing, these were copied out by his eldest son, Lewis, "a child of 12 year old only".

Paper A contained an account of Ball's dismissal in 1753 from the employment of the company of mine-adventurers, whose secretary (O'Connor) however saved him from being prosecuted. At this time the court of directors requested Morris "to receive their stores from Ball, and to put another agent in the house in his room, and dispose of their ore on bank and warehouses." Ball was subsequently reinstated by Townsend, who succeeded in getting elected "a board of directors of his own contriving, whereby he (Townsend) got all the company's works in Cardiganshire either assign'd or sold to him, and Ball had their management under him."

Paper B contained "the miners' complaints in 1754, against Martin O'Connor, who was drawn by Ball to side with him against the interest of his employers."

Paper C contained Ball's history down to date, including a subsequent dismissal and re-instatement by Townsend, with whom he had been concerned "in some dirty work about Esgair y mwyn."

its abundance of flowers, cherries, apples, plums of every sort, quince, medlar, and several varieties of pears—"particularly a pear called in Pembrokeshire *Peran Mary Harry* (supposed to be the orange pear from beyond sea) got from a ship at Milford." William, who was no mean naturalist and had now become almost his only correspondent, sent him from Holyhead rare seeds and plants, and duplicates from his collection of shells and fruit.

They were timely gifts, for William's end was not far off. The last letter that Lewis wrote to his favourite brother was that of the 25th November 1763 (unfortunately torn), in reply to one commenced by William on the 9th and finished on the 16th. "Something tells me," says Lewis (who was himself very weak and on crutches), "that the next letter from Holyhead will bear a black seal." William died before the end of the year, leaving several sons and daughters behind him. On 2 Jan. 1764, Owen Davies (a brother-in-law who lived at Holyhead), wrote to Cardiganshire as follows:—

"Dr. Brother—This will Lett you know that your sister and I and what is left of both families are well. Our Lewis wrote a line the day your Bror. died, and we buryd him next day,[1] for the corps swelld verry fast. He made no will. . . . . I wrote to Bror. Richard to desire of him to solicit with Mr. Myrick for to have his place for our Lewis, whom is twenty years old now, but our collector has applyd for the Salt. And I am thinking if I should happen to live so long as Robin Morris comes to be of age to leave this and go to Pentrerianell, and Robin to have one of the two places. . . . . I shall endeavor to have a cywydd made by Bardd Coch if he can do

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[1] The late Mr. J. Lloyd Griffith, M.A., at my request, kindly searched the Holyhead Parish Register, and found that William Morris's burial is there entered under December 29, 1763. He therefore must have died on December 28th. Most biographers incorrectly state that he died in 1764. In his letter to me, Mr. Griffith added—"I have made inquiries for W. M.'s grave, but nothing is known."

it, for the best old man that ever Anglesey bredd. . . . . Robin has no mind to sell his father's shells and books."

Morris's reply, dated "Penbryn, Jan. 12th," contains some interesting matter :—

"I was very weak and decrepid before I recd. this dismal acct. of my poor bror.'s death, but now much more so. God help his children. . . . . I wish you success with Mr. Meyrick, but I am afraid he is indolent, and no great good can be expected of him. As for my Bror.'s Books and Curiosities. they should be sold by auction by all means, for if keeping of them is attempted, they'll be pilferd by piece-meal by all comers and goers, so that by the time the boy is of age and discretion if ever he comes, they'll be dwindled away to nothing. . . . . I desire you would take care for me about the following articles. If my tenants were not very forward they have hardly paid my Bror. All Saints rent for last year. If they have, pray secure it for me, or if they have not, pray receive it. When my Bror.'s effects are apprais'd pray take care to lay by the following things belonging to me, which I left in my Bror.'s care. A small spinnet that was once with W. Lloyd, a guitar or two and a Welsh crwth, and a French Hautboy, my Printing Press and materials, a Madagascar spear with iron heads, given me by Bror. John. These are only curiosities, and only of little use, but if I live I should be glad to have them. I left behind me also several books when I left the place . . . let them and others be sold for the children's benefit, only I should be glad if you'd buy for me at the sale the old manuscript of Gwern Eigron, beginning thus, with part of a poem of Meilyr, *Ked galwad unyc nid oet ofynawc*, and a MS. of my Bror.'s own handwriting, called I think *Y Prif Feirdd Cymreig*, containing the works of Taliesin, Llywarch hen, &c., of which poems I sent him a vast number. I'll give for them more than is bid by the highest bidder; they are fit for few people besides myself."

A twelvemonth later he wrote again,[1] probably for the

[1] On 2 Dec. 1764, Morris had written to his wife's uncle, Rees Lloyd. at No. 4, Middle Temple, with reference to Lloyd's wish to get some little post he could manage in the Stamp Office :—" Sir Herbert Lloyd, the present member for Cardigan [Borough] is my particular friend, and when he comes to town in January, on the meeting of Parliament, I'll give you a letter to him, as he will be on the spot, and I'm sure he'll do you for my sake any service in his power. You'll know better by that time what to apply for."

last time, to his sister and her husband at Holyhead. It is the last letter in Morris's handwriting contained in this collection, and as he died within three months of its date, he probably wrote but little, if anything, subsequent to this. It runs as follows:—

"Penbryn, Jan. 18, 1765.

"ANWYL VRAWD A CHWAER.

"I receivd. Lewis's letter and yours of ye 13th Decr., and am glad you are all well, and that Mr. Meyrick is in the way of helping you.

"Sr. Herbert Lloyd is gone to London, and is a good back on occasion, but I hope you will want none of his assistance. I can't tell whether he and Sr. Wm. Owen be friendly, but shall enquire. Should be glad if I had my famous cap here, perhaps it might do my head good. I have an excellent pair of scissors for sister if I could send it, and if I had the Tywridyn rents laid out in butter and cheese and got here they would be of great service here, for I have a great undertaking in a rich mine going on here soon, which will require such things, and I must endeavor to pick up a few crumbs for these poor children before I depart. *I believe it will be a great thing.* My commission with Powell is over, and common report says I have carried it by a pike's length, but the decree of the Lord Chancellor is not yet come out. We know, however, that he has not been able to prove anything, and how can he have money, without something to shew?

"I have been extream ill after my Pembrokeshire journey, being caught by the easterly wind, but hope I have conquerd. it.

"Will Parry (Jo. Parry's son) was here lately, and he promisd. to bring my press and letters,[1] &c., with him, in his return from Liverpoole to Aberdovey. Cannot you send by him as much butter and cheese as you can get moderately? Cheese was sold lately at Aberystwyth (from Pwllheli) at 21*s.* a hundred, and salt butter is now there 4*d.* a pound or 5*d.* sometimes. I have heard nothing from Bror. Richard this 2 months, but expect daily.

"Your affectionate Bro., L. M."

The journey to Pembrokeshire, whatever may have been its object, probably proved too much for him, though

[1] Morris's printing press and type were eventually acquired by Dafydd Jones, of Trefriw, but this was probably after the lapse of several years, as the first book issued by Jones from it appeared in 1777. (See *Cymmrodorion Transactions* for 1898-99, p. 107; Rowlands' *Llyfryddiaeth,* pp. 367-370.)

when writing he thought he had got over its effects. He died on 11 April 1765, and was buried in the chancel of the historic church of Llanbadarn Fawr, but there is no manner of memorial to him there. By his will he had appointed his widow and his son Lewis co-executors of his estate, and on 10 May, two neighbours, David Morgan and William Jones, made a valuation of his personal effects. The appraisement would seem to be unusually low, even for probate purposes: 20 horned cattle and 100 sheep were valued at £45; "two old horses and four old mares" at £9; the household furniture (of which an interesting inventory is given) at £4 16*s.* 6*d.*; the dairy utensils, farming implements, and the contents of the smithy at £2 7*s.* 6*d.*; a watch and wearing apparel at £3 13*s.*; and "a cabinet of curiosities, a pair of old globes, a parcel of books, mathematical and musical instruments, £2 2*s.*," making a total of £66 19*s.* The cabinet, with some of its drawers still full of mineral specimens, is now in the possession of Sir Lewis Morris at Penbryn. But how much would we not have given for the parcel of books? Of course nothing is said in this inventory as to the extent and value of Morris's real estate. But however much it may have been, it is obvious that Morris did not die a rich man—not as rich as might have been expected, considering the very large and profitable transactions he had at one time been engaged in. Had he been spared for a few more years to watch and direct the development of his mines, they would probably have brought him a rich return. But there was no member of his family experienced enough to carry on his work in this respect. Confident of ultimate success, Morris had invested not only his own money, but that of his wife also, in his mining operations, and the surviving brother Richard sent the widow what advice and consolation he could, living away in London as

he did. The following passages from a letter of his, dated 23 Dec. 1766, throw some light on the position of the family:—

"Dear Sister—I received all your letters, and inclosed you have one from your son, Lewis, who has left school, and I must endeavour to get him into some business to get a livelyhood as soon as I can, and hope to be able to get him something to his advantage, but this money is the misfortune, there is no getting any good birth, excepting by great chance, without money, which sets all the wheels in motion. I am very sorry that you should give yourself the least uneasiness at my mentioning anything about your money, which I find my poor brother sunk in trials for ore, &c., to a very large amount, and it can in no other way be accounted for. I heartily wish things were better for the sake of yourself and numerous family."

The dead poet's old antagonist, Dr. Powell, of Nanteos, seems not to have ceased his attacks on the family, for Richard reports that he had consulted a legal friend at the Temple, William Myddelton, about a note sent by Powell to the widow "which I thought was intended to take advantage of you unknown to Mr. [Stephen] Edwards," the family solicitor, at Aberystwyth. Ieuan Brydydd hir had been on a visit to Penbryn, but Richard Morris was glad to hear that Mrs. Morris had not let him have any books, "for he would have lost them all."

At Morris's death none of his children by his second wife had attained years of discretion, the eldest being only about 15, the youngest less than four. By his first wife, Elizabeth Griffiths, the heiress of Ty-wridyn, near Holyhead (not Ty Wrdyn as given by all his biographers), Morris had one son and two daughters. The eldest, Margaret ("Peggy"), who was wilful and headstrong "like her mother", married (in 1756 or perhaps a year or two later), somewhat against her father's will, one Richard Lance. In 1761 they were living at Llanbadarn. The second daughter, Eleanor ("Elin") married, about Nov.

1753, one Richard Morris, of Mathafarn, near Machynlleth,[1] and Lewis Morris had a high opinion of his grandchildren, "the Mathafarn boys", so much so that he removed his own boys from "Ned Richards's school" at Ystradmeurig, to a Machynlleth school, which his grandsons attended. The late Rev. Morris Hughes, of Pentraeth, Anglesey (who died a nonagenarian some fifteen years ago), was descended from the Mathafarn line. I have already suggested[2] the probability that after her first husband's death, Elin married John Paynter, son of her father's old enemy of the same name. Strange irony of fate if that was so! By his second wife, Morris had five sons and four daughters; of these, the eldest, Lewis, died in 1779 at the age of 29, in Jamaica; John ("fierce as a tiger," while Lewis was "tractable"), died at Penbryn, probably in the same year as his father; Jane, died 23 Oct. 1753, aged nine months. A second daughter of the same name (? born July 1754), married a Mr. Cuthbert, whose son, Lewis Morris Cuthbert, bequeathed £30,000 away from the family to charities; Richard, died about 21 August 1755, aged two months; Elizabeth (? born 11 December 1756), who married a Mr. Crebar;[3] William, who on Lewis's death, succeeded as eldest surviving son, and through whom the line was continued; Mary, born April 1760; and Pryse, born August 1761, died September 1797.

[1] Goronwy Owen celebrated the event by writing a "Wedding Song", printed in Robert Jones's ed. of *G. Owen's Works*, p. 98.

[2] See Note 2, p. 40 above.

[3] A "John Crebar, gentleman" was buried at Eglwys Newydd on 14 June 1774. He was probably the Mr. Crebar who, with another, worked the Bwlchgwyn for a year, about 1740. A "William Crebar of this town, gentleman," was admitted burgess of Aberystwyth at the Michaelmas Court Leet, 1784 (G. Eyre Evans's *Aberystwyth*, &c., p. 147).

William Morris married Marian Reynolds, the heiress of the Blaennant estate in the parish of Llanfeigan, Brecknockshire, daughter of George Reynolds, of Aberystwyth. Her mother, Lucy Williams, was one of the Williamses of Ffrwdgrech, near Brecon, afterwards of Blaennant (see their pedigree in Jones's *Brecknockshire*, ed. 1898, p. 517), a junior branch of the family of the same name (but originally Boleyn or Bullen), of Abercamlais (*Ibid.*, pp. 508-9). William Morris repaired and almost rebuilt the dwelling-house of Blaennant, where he resided and died, being survived by his wife (*Ibid.*, p. 460). They were both buried at Llanfeigan, and the parish registers there contain numerous entries as to their family, which consisted of eleven children. The eldest child, Lucy, married David Williams (brother of Archdeacon Williams), master of Ystradmeurig School, and in that post, he was succeeded by his brother-in-law (one of William Morris's sons) John Williams Morris. Another son was Lewis Morris, who settled as a lawyer at Carmarthen, and became the father of the present Sir Lewis Morris, Knight, whose residence just outside Carmarthen bears the same name of Penbryn as his ancestor's home near Aberystwyth. The perpetuation of this name would have doubtless gratified the subject of our article, still more so the new lustre which the present holder of his name has cast on it. Referring to his eldest grandson of Mathavarn, he once wrote, "Lewis will make a poet, a musician, and is full of wit." After probably his last visit to Mathavarn, he again observed (19 Dec. 1754), "Dyma fi gwedi bod yn Mathafarn yn gweld fy wyr Lewis Morris; gwych o'r cynyddu y mae 'r enw hwnw. Pwy wyr na fydd gor-wyrion etto o'r enw?" Who knows—he asks—but that there will be great-grandchildren bearing that name—Lewis Morris?

APPENDIX.

John Paynter at Esgair-y-Mwyn and Hafod (1757-1775.)

It may not be inappropriate to append a few further notes with reference to John Paynter's connection with Cardiganshire subsequent to the transactions dealt with in the text above. It has already been stated that when Esgair-y-mwyn was transferred to the Earl of Powis, under the Crown lease of February 1757, his lordship continued Paynter's employment as manager of the mine. The manager immediately launched into great expenditure, and in some memoranda, prepared by Lewis Morris, most probably in December 1757, "for Lord Powis's information," on "Mismanagement at ye mine in 1757," it is stated that it was the common report that Paynter and John Ball "had combined to bring unnecessary charges on the mine so as to put Lord Powis out of conceit with it, and to induce him to surrender his lease to the Treasury, on the ground that the terms were too hard, viz., "a duty of half ye ore," . . . "and that while Lord Powis sollicits for a better bargain, Mr. Townsend will take it up on the terms his lordship had it, for the sake of getting ore for his smelting house."

It is alleged that "by a forced push," 284 tons of ore were raised for the Crown, out of the bottoms, in less than two months' time, in the early part of 1757. "How happens it then," asks Morris, "that there was an account of but 50 tons given to Lord Powis, and said to be raised out of the bottoms for him in 8 months' time?" He indeed suspected that a great deal of his lordship's ore had been thrown into the waste hillocks which Ball had bought of Paynter before Lord Powis had his lease, "but the common report is that they are partners in the waste, and that it was a collusive sale. Paynter, as well as Ball, knew what vast quantities of ore Mr. Townsend had thrown into the waste hillocks in washing the ore in that wise bargain made by the Treasury, therefore this sale was not

done through ignorance." At all events, it was said that Ball had actually got about 500 tons of ore from the waste hillocks.

Among other expenditure that Paynter had incurred was that of building a new "Square house" for himself, and of making gardens fenced in with a great boundary wall, on the mountain near the mine, though "the house that had been built by L. M., and in which Mr. Herbert lodged, was sufficient for any agent to reside in during his necessary attendance at the mine, as at other times he might have lived in the warmer vallies." But Paynter could scarcely have used the new house at all, for about the same time he secured the house and farm of Hafod, on a lease for life from the owner, Thomas Johnes, "at a great advanced rent." He at once set about repairing Hafod, cutting down timber for the purpose, "of which, when Mr. Johnes came to know, he ordered his agent, Evan Lloyd, to put a stop to, alledging that he had committed damages above a £100 on the trees."

The quaintest statement contained in this memorandum is "that Mr. Paynter had made a great pond of water near the new house, which he calls *Pwll dialedd*, *i.e.*, the pool of punishment. This pool is not for the use of the mine, being below it, but is contrived to frighten Bailiffs or any persons that have the confidence to come and demand money of the agent, or that have otherwise affronted him. Several persons have been threatened with it, and even carried to ye brink of it by a body of miners, by Mr. P.'s order, particularly Evan Thomas, the sheriff's bailiff." It is evident that Paynter did not show the same promptitude as Morris had done in paying wages and other claims, and this was the cause of serious disputes between him and several of the bargain-takers who at one time had been friendly with him.

A letter written by one of them—John Charlton—on 9 December 1757, to Morris, contains a comic account of the reception accorded to them on one occasion:

Paynter had "ordered that we should come up on a Sunday and make up our account; and, instead of settling, his servant, when I went to the door, threw the stool at my face, and, with hearing of a noise, Mr. Paynter asked what was there, his servant answered 'that Rogue Charlton'; with that Mr. P. came out with his stick and began to beat me as hard as ever he could, instead of settling accounts. Then his lady came with a stick and begins to beat me, then when they seed [saw] yt there was John Ball and Kennion, Richd. Owen,

John Jones, clerk, Julian Willcock, Michael Rogers, and George Smeadley his servant and their wifes (?), they set on a throwing stones as hard as ever they could, and told me as they should murder me, (to) which I made answer—it was a fine way to pay debt; they sent for the pumpers out of the work, followed me down below Cricklas to Marchnat, Mr. Paynter and all of them bare-headed. P.S.—He sent 14 men after night again to look after me a horse-back."

He desired Morris's assistance "for to know what he should do with these gentelmen," adding—"there is several other people unpaid besides us, which I hope your honour will look unto." It is not likely that Morris was able to render much, if any, help in the matter, for we find that Paynter was rapidly gaining further power in the district, and that, in the use of it, he brooked no opposition, but ruled the inhabitants with a rod of iron. He was placed on the Commission of the Peace, and was most active in the discharge of his magisterial duties.[1] He filled the office of High Sheriff of the county for the year 1763. He also appears to have succeeded Morris as Deputy Steward of some of the Crown manors, or at least of the Manor of Creuddyn, and in this capacity he soon asserted his authority. In the parish register of Eglwys newydd—which was practically a chapel-of-ease for Hafod—is preserved a copy of the minutes of the Leet Court held for this manor in the autumn of 1759. The Court met at Tavarn Newydd on 9 October; thirteen jurors were sworn, but as they failed to agree as to their presentments, an adjournment was made to the following day, when there occurred what would now be described as "a scene in Court". According to the record, Paynter "attended the Court as steward thereof, and two of the jurymen not appearing when called," they were fined one and two guineas respectively. "Cornelius Griffiths, one of the jurymen, was likewise fined in the sum of 10 guineas for uttering abusive language towards the said steward in the execution of his office, and for creating a disturbance in Court, whereupon the Court was again adjourned to the 7th of November following. By the time of the adjourned Court, most of "the jury aforesaid" were probably docile enough to adopt without protest whatever presentments the steward

[1] Morris refers to this in a letter of 2 December 1761 thus:—"Byw'r Iuddew brych yn eistedd yn ben ustus"; and another of 16 April 1762, "Mae'r Iuddew brych yn actio'r ustus yn bawdwr."

required them to make. Several ditches and fences were presented as out of repair, and those responsible for them, were, on further default, to be fined. Sixteen persons were fined 5*s.* each for keeping goats "to the annoyance of the publick." The jury saddled even themselves with responsibility by presenting that the high road leading from Pont rhyd y groes to Pentre, and the common Pound near Eglwys Newydd were out of repair, and ought to be repaired, and that a pair of stocks ought to be set up by the inhabitants of the upper parcel of Llanfihangel y Creuddyn, on pain of several penalties for default. As copies of the "findings" of the jury would, of course, be communicated to the Crown officials in London, they were cleverly utilised to discredit some former official—could it be Lewis Morris? The record on this point is as follows:

"It was proposed that Cornelius Griffiths[1] should serve the office of a Praepositor in ye room of John Parry, but two of ye Jurymen, Wm. Ball and Oliver Lewis, objected to the said Cornelius Griffiths as having no visible Freehold and being often not to be found, therefore unfit for an employment of Trust in receiving the Quit Rents payable yearly at his Majesty's audit, for which reasons the Steward of the Court directed that the said James (*sic*) Parry should continue in the receit of the said rents for the ensuing year, the freeholders of the said Lordship having already suffered greatly by the insolvency of a Person who at this very time is charged by his Majesty's Audit with being considerably in arrear to the Crown, which Arrear must unavoidably fall upon the said freeholders or some of them."

Why the minutes of only this particular Court Leet were copied into the Church Register it is difficult to say, unless it was Paynter's desire that there should be a record in the locality to remind the inhabitants how he had asserted his authority. The same Register[2] also contains copies of the correspondence relating to Eglwys Newydd Church, printed in Meyrick's *Cardiganshire* (pp. 360-363). Paynter, it seems, had been for some time endeavouring to obtain for the church a grant from Queen Anne's Bounty. On 9th January 1762,[3] the Bounty Secre-

[1] He was one of the Griffiths of Penpompren, being a brother of the High Sheriff of the County for 1757.

[2] I am indebted to the present Vicar of Eglwys Newydd (the Rev. T. Noah Jones), for kind hospitality, which enabled me to inspect and make extracts from the Register at his house, Pwll peiran, near Hafod.

[3] Meyrick gives the date as 1760, but I think this is clearly a mistake for 1762.

tary (H. Montague), acknowledging the receipt of his "very pressing letters", writes to him thus:—

"From the great friendship I always have for you, I have at length surmounted the great obstacles that lay in our way to success, (but) in order thereto I have been obliged to strain a point in this office." Then followed the assurance that the Bishop of the Diocese (Dr. Squire), as well as the writer, was "a friend to Paynter and his religious design"—and that he would soon hear from the Bishop. On 4 February 1762 the Bishop did in fact write, putting some queries with reference to Eglwys Newydd, and graciously accepting Paynter's recommendation of its vicar (Hughes) for the vacant living of Llanilar. Paynter's reply, dated from Hafod 3 March 1762, brings out strongly the urbane and diplomatic side of his character. He assures the Bishop that he "would take uncommon pains to get the church first into proper repair, and to recommend a worthy clergyman to succeed Mr. Hughes." Then, after answering his lordship's queries, and giving "a few anecdotes" concerning "the first establishment of Eglwys Newydd," he proceeds:—

"Bishop Trevor, I am told, came once as far as Tregaron to confirm; now if your Lordship should chance to do the like, I may flatter myself with hopes of entertaining you and your retinue at Havod."

This invitation to the Bishop would doubtless have immensely tickled Lewis Morris, had he known of it, for on more than one occasion he suggests pretty clearly that Paynter's *ménage* at Hafod and elsewhere was not what would commend itself to the average moralist, least of all to a bishop, who should be a man of one wife. Judging from the fact that Thomas Johnes in 1773 described the church as then ruinous, Paynter could scarcely have carried out his promise to repair it. What he had however done before this, namely in 1760, was to construct a vault in the chancel, "designing it for himself and his wife." In June 1773, Johnes, as "the sole proprietor of the chancel," authorised that "when the time should come" the minister should "permit the interment of each of them respectively in the said vault." It did not long remain untenanted after this, for the Register contains the following entry, in the handwriting of the then vicar, David Williams:—

"1775, Dec. 19. Buried, John Paynter of Havod, Esquire."

The Register contains no entry relating to his wife. As to their descendants I have nothing to add to what is stated in note 2, p. 40 above.

One word with reference to Hafod itself. In his letter to Dr. Squire, Paynter refers to "the surprising singularity of this enchanting spot," which threw him into raptures when he "first accidentally saw it". In 1783, Thomas Johnes (the son of Paynter's lessor of the same name) decided to settle at Hafod. The old house was pulled down and a magnificent new mansion built instead. The greater part of this (including the library, with many of its priceless treasures), was burnt down in March 1807, but the mansion was soon rebuilt in all its original splendour. Col. Johnes died in 1816.[1] In March 1833, the estate and the mansion (together with all its contents, including the library) were sold for £62,000 to the 3rd Duke of Newcastle, who intended it as a country residence for his son, the Earl of Lincoln, and his wife. A grandson of Lewis Morris, the Rev. J. Williams Morris, head master of Ystrad Meurig School (*see* p. 77 above), was appointed domestic chaplain to the Earl during his residence at Hafod, the long arm of coincidence thus bringing the two families once more into close though temporary association. The 3rd Duke dying on 18 October 1834, the Earl succeeded to the Dukedom, but kept on Hafod, and many

[1] As much of this paper deals incidentally with the history of land in North Cardiganshire, the statement of a Government official affecting Col. Johnes deserves to be recorded here, though it should be borne in mind that it was not made till many years after his death. He is said to have "appropriated to his own use nearly 7,000 acres of waste, belonging to the Crown, adjoining his farms". Being steward of the Crown Manors in Cardiganshire, as well as Crown Auditor for Wales, "there was no check upon him". This was not discovered till the estate was sold, after his death, to a Mr. Claughton, who, with the aid of Chancery, "got rid of his bargain", presumably on the ground that there was no title to the encroachments. Johnes' executors and trustees paid £800 for the King's interests in the wastes, the minerals being reserved. It was then that the estate was sold to the Duke of Newcastle, who, after purchasing it, tried also to buy the minerals, but the Crown refused to sell. "The Duke, regardless of his application, and of the reservation, ordered his agent to discharge the workmen employed by the Crown tenants. The Commissioners of Woods and Forests are taking the proper steps to establish the right of the Crown and to prevent the Duke's encroachment." *See* Evidence of John Wilkin, Receiver of Crown Rents for Wales, 5 June 1834, before Lord Duncannon's Select Committee on Land Revenues of the Crown, questions 2965-67, and 3423.

improvements which he carried out there are still known by his name, especially the Duke's Drive. The subsequent owners have been Henry Houghton, who was High Sheriff of Cardiganshire for 1849, William Chambers (of Llanelly and of Bicknor, Kent), who purchased it in 1853, and T. J. Waddingham, Esquire, who is the present owner.

POSTSCRIPT.

When the greater part of the preceding article had been printed off, a letter book, containing copies, in Lewis Morris's handwriting, of letters and one or two other papers written by him in 1744-47, was forwarded to me by Sir Lewis Morris. They contain much that is of the utmost value as to the history of the common lands of the district, but this cannot be dealt with in a Postscript. A brief reference must however be made to their contents, in so far as they throw light on the commencement of Morris's official connection with the Cardiganshire manors. The following tells its own story as to the beginning of that connection:—

"Sr,—It being necessary for his Majesty's service to have a correct survey and plan of the Mannor of Cwmwood y Perveth in the county of Cardigan, These are therefore to authorise and desire you to repair to the said Mannor and Survey the same and make a correct Plan thereof, particularly describing the Wastes and Commons within the said Mannor belonging to the Crown and the lands belonging to the Freeholders; and also all Mines of Copper, Lead, Tinn, or other minerals within the said Mannor, but more particularly to describe a Lead Mine within the Parish of Llanbadarn Vawr within the said Mannor, concerning the Right to which Mine a dispute is now depending in the Court of Exchequer. And you are desired to transmit such Survey and Plan under your Hand to me with all convenient speed, and for so doing this shall be your warrant.

"T. Walker, Surveyor-General.

"Burlington Garden, 2 August 1744.
"To Mr. Lewis Morris, Surveyor."

There are good grounds for believing that William Corbett (see p. 4 above) was in some way or other concerned in securing this appointment for Morris.[1] During

[1] Even before this appointment, Morris appears to have visited Bwlchgwyn mine, for in referring to it in a letter of 16 Nov. 1744, he says:—"Most that I know of it is from views I took of it formerly, as it was said to belong to a gentleman I had a value for."

the next two or three years he acted as Morris's correspondent in London, interviewing Government officials in his interest, and on at least one occasion receiving a remittance from the Treasury as Morris's agent. Morris, on the other hand, kept him duly informed from to time as to the state of affairs in Cardiganshire. He thus wrote to Corbett a long letter on 14 September 1744, "to desire him to speak with Mr. Sharpe," of the Treasury, as to Morris's remuneration and expenses, and with Zachariah Chambers (an official in the Surveyor-General's Department), as to whether Morris could not be empowered to compel the deputy steward and other officers of the manor to produce their records for his inspection. Morris had, in fact, written to Chambers himself, on 17 August, enclosing a number of queries on points as to which he desired guidance, but the answers which he received on 13 September were "not at all satisfactory". His difficulties in Cardiganshire were very great, for his inquiries were met with a conspiracy of silence on almost every hand. The steward of the Crown manors in the county was Owen Brigstocke, who had been M.P. for the county, 1718-22, but he had never been in the manor of Perveddl since receiving the office.[1] He had, however, appointed three deputies, viz., Lloyd of Mabws,[2] Lewis (or query Thomas) Parry, and another (whose name is not given) for the south of the county. Parry was also attorney to Thomas Powell of Nanteos (who claimed Bwlchgwyn mine), and had "an estate of his own of above £100 a year in the very centre of this Lordship, and particularly a cottage or summer house upon the mountains which he called his freehold." So he was not likely to favour the claims of the Crown. In fact he, in conjunction with Powell, who was then M.P. for the county, gave notice

[1] In 1719, William Gower, of Glandovan (M.P. for Ludlow), had a grant of the profits, fines, and estrays of these Lordships, and was succeeded by Wilson Abel Gower, who held them in 1747, but neither of them had raised the fines imposed at the various Courts.

[2] Probably Richard Lloyd, who had stood against Powell of Nanteos in 1729, and Thomas Pryse of Gogerddan in 1741, in the Parliamentary Election for Cardigan Boroughs. He appears to have been friendly to Morris, and inclined to assist him, but as he had left all the work to Parry, he was unable to give much, if any, information. Moreever, he seems to have been about this time superseded in the deputy stewardship—perhaps owing to his friendliness to Morris.

to Morris that if he "dared to go on Freeholders' lands in the Lordship of Perfedd to survey them or the mines, he would be forthwith prosecuted for damages."

"Thos. Pryse, Esqr., another member of Parliament, who hath a great estate in this Lordship, hath also given me the like notice, telling me that he had given his attorney orders to prosecute me as soon as ever he could have proof I made advances that way. . . . As I was willing to have my residence near the center of ye Lordship, for ye readier carrying on the Survey, and to get what information I could, I took a House in ye mountains, but several attempts have been made to turn me out of it, and I have been publicly threatened to be drove out of the country." (Letter to the Surveyor-General, 11 April 1745.)

Morris had to confess that he had "not one man in the whole county to consult with"; and when Sharpe required him to recommend some one to act as solicitor for the Crown, he found that all the local men were "either interested or related to the persons that disputed with the Crown, or else guilty themselves of the like encroachments." Early in July he journeyed all the way to Llandovery with a view of retaining one James Pryse, an attorney of that town, but "he entirely refused to undertake the management of the affair for the Crown." Nothing daunted, he went the next day to Presteign to see an attorney named Jenkin Edwards, "a native of Cardiganshire, and a gentleman of years and experience (who knew) the country, and no way byass'd by ye great men thereof." Edwards promised to act on receiving instructions to that effect direct from the Treasury. Pending this, Morris drew up "a state of the case", and proofs of the evidence of his witnesses, to enable Sharpe to settle interrogatories, and (on 12 August) he begged Sharpe to hasten the "deputation" for him, by which it would appear that it was intended to confer on him powers to act as deputy steward for Perfedd, and probably for Mefenydd and Creuddyn also.

Powell seems to have based his claim to Bwlchgwyn on the following grounds:—(1) that it was in a small mesne manor belonging to him, and lying within the lordship of Pervedd; and that the beadle of the latter never raised the king's rent within his mesne manor. (2) That some 40 years previously the company of mine-adventurers, under a lease from one of Powell's predecessors, had cut trenches and dug for mine on the mountain at or near

Bwlchgwyn. It has already been stated (p. 10) above that Powell won this suit in the Exchequer, though I am unable to say when it was tried out.

Morris's letters contain a mass of interesting information relating to the lordship; he appears to have drawn up a formal report of his survey of it—three folios of the opening part of this report are wrapped up with the letter-book.

Brigstock, the Crown Steward, seems to have died in 1746, and William Corbett was appointed steward to succeed him, whereupon Morris was appointed his deputy steward for the manor of Perfedd. But the landowners in the district gave orders to their tenants not to attend his Courts, so that in his first two Courts only one freeholder appeared. It is indeed probable enough that the customs of the manor, as given by Meyrick (*Hist. of Cardiganshire*, p. 568), from some MSS. of Morris, were never sworn to at any court of survey in the year mentioned (1747), but simply drawn up by Morris in readiness for one of his abortive courts.

The conclusion that is forced on one in reading Morris's letters during the years 1744-47, is that in addition to being bitterly opposed by practically all the men of influence in Cardiganshire, while attempting to carry out a work bristling with difficulties, he was also accorded but very inadequate support by the Treasury officials, who seemed afraid lest he should create too many enemies to the Government among Cardiganshire landowners. Our knowledge of his loyalty to duty in face of these difficulties increases our wonder at the persecution he subsequently suffered. But was it not the same cowardly and inhuman Government that authorised the judicial murder of Byng? In a somewhat similar way, Lewis Morris also seems to have been sacrificed on the altar of political expediency, But his memory will ever be cherished by Welshmen as one of the most versatile sons of Wales, one of the sweetest of its ballad singers, and as the disinterested friend and patron of many a struggling bard and student of Welsh literature—notably of his poor neglected contemporary Goronwy Owen.

Saint Carannog.

By the REV. S. BARING GOULD, M.A.

Carannog is said to have been son of Corun ab Ceredig, by Rees in his "Essay on the Welsh Saints", and a *Life* is in the MS. Cotton., Vespasian A. xiv, which has been printed in the *Lives of the Cambro-British Saints*, Llandovery, 1853. Having recently come upon another *Life*, which is in the Breviary of the Church of Léon, printed in 1516, and of which only two copies exist, and which seems to be generally unknown, I venture to note a few particulars relative to this very remarkable man, as a prelude to this Léon *Life*, which I propose to give.

Apparently there were two saints of a very similar name, and their stories have been fused together. The second Carannog, or as the Irish call him, Cairnech, was the son of Saran, King in Oriel, and of Babona, daughter of Loarn, King of Alba (503-508). Earca, sister of Babona, married first Murtogh, son of Eoghain, son of Niall of the Nine Hostages (378-405), and was the mother of Murtogh mac Earca, King of Ireland (513-533); and Murtogh mac Earca married the widow of Lurig, brother of S. Cairnech. Earca married, secondly, Fergus, son of Conall Gulban (d. 464), and by him was mother of Fedlilim, and grandmother of S. Columba of Hy. The period at which Cairnech lived is accordingly pretty well fixed. He died in 545 (*Irish Nennius*, ed. Todd & Herbert, p. cx).

From this it will be seen that Carannog ab Corun belonged to an earlier period.

In the *Life of S. Carannog* (Vespasian A. xiv) we are informed that at the time when he was born, "The Scots (Irish) overcame Britain for thirty years, the names of whose generals were Briscus, Thuthaius, Machleius, and Anpachus." And again: "Ceredig held Ceredigion, and from him it received its name. And after he held it, the Scots came and fought with them, and seized all the country." So in the Léon *Life*: "In those days came the Scots and occupied the British region", and this was when Ceredig was "an old man". Here we have an intimation of two invasions, one before Ceredig arrived and expelled them, another, later, when they attempted to recover what they had lost.

The names of the Irish chiefs of the first invasion are not easy to identify in their Latin form; Tuathius may be Dathi, King of Ireland 405-408, and Anpachus may be Amalghaid, King of Connaught 438-449, and the name of a Mac Lear (Laoghaire) may be disguised under Machleius.

According to the Latin *Lives*, Carannog, in Latin Carantocus, was son of Ceredig and not grandson. He went to Ireland "in the year of the birth of Saint David, son of Sandde." Unfortunately, it is exceedingly doubtful what year that was.

"He went to Ireland, Patrick having preceded him; and they met each other and resided together. And they consulted together what they should do, and they agreed that they should separate, one go to the left, and the other to the right, because many clerics walked with them, and others because they wanted health. And Carantoc went to the right part, and Patrick to the left, and they agreed that they should meet once a year."

The Léon *Life* is fuller. On account of the invasion by the Irish, and the advanced age of Ceredig, the chiefs met and desired to set his eldest son, Carannog, at their head. He, however, declined the honour, loving the Kingdom of Heaven better than earthly kingdoms, and he fled with staff and wallet till he came to a place called Guerith Karanktoc, where he set up his rest. But after some time an angel bade him go to Ireland and assist Patrick in his labours there. Accordingly he departed, and built a monastery in Ireland. This, apparently, is his foundation at Dulane, in Meath.

In the histories of S. Patrick, which we have, Carannog does not seem to have been intimately associated with him, except on one notable occasion; and the *Life* (Vesp. A. xiv) implies as much; the sphere of Patrick was in the north, that of Carannog in the south. The notable occasion referred to is the drawing up of the Seanchus Mor. When the bulk of the population of Ireland had accepted Christianity, it became advisable that the laws should be readjusted to meet the new condition of affairs. King Laoghaire saw this, and although not himself a Christian he is traditionally said to have appointed a joint Commission for the revision and codification of the laws. The Commission consisted of three Kings, three Brehons or Druids, and three Christian Bishops. Patrick, Benignus, and Carantoc sat as representatives of the Church. The code remained in force among the Irish throughout the Middle Ages, and in Clare even down to 1600.

The Latin *Lives* say not a word about this, which occupied Carannog and the other Commissioners three years, and was completed in or about 438, and which was the most important and far-reaching act of his life.

Whilst in Ireland, Carannog received as his pupil one who is called in Brittany Tennenan, and who is represented

as son of an Irish King, Timdor. The names have not an Irish sound, but they are evidently corrupt. Tennenan being a leper, was excluded from the succession, and embraced the ecclesiastical life under Carannog, who, according to the legend, healed him of his leprosy. This may have an allegorical meaning, and imply no more than that by baptism he purged him of the leprosy of sin, or that whilst undergoing his training in the Monastery of Carannog, he got rid of a distressing skin disease which had troubled him in his youth. Can Tennenan be Finnian?

The Léon *Life* speaks of an Irish King Dulcemius contributing timber to the erection of the church for Carannog, but under this name it is not possible to determine what chieftain of South Ireland is meant.

After a while Carannog retired from active work in Ireland, and the Latin published *Life* goes on to relate that he retreated to a cave in Ceredigion, and founded the Church of Llangranog. After a while, taking his portable altar with him, he went to the Severn, and threw his altar in, resolving to settle wherever it was washed up. Then we are told that in those days Cado and Arthur ruled the land, and the latter had his dwelling at Dindrarthron. In the adjoining district of Carron was a dragon, which Arthur induced Carannog to overcome. Arthur meanwhile got hold of Carannog's altar-table and purposed appropriating it to his own use. However, when Carannog had tamed the dragon, he reluctantly surrendered the altar, which Carannog again threw into the sea.

Dindrarthron is Dinedor, in Herefordshire, and Carron is the marshy region of the Garran. Here there is a church called Llangaran. All this portion of the legend must be dismissed as an anachronism. It is not possible to make Carannog, who assisted at the compilation of the

Seanchus Mor in 438, a contemporary of Arthur, who fell in 537. It applies to the second Carantoc, or Cairnech, son of Saran.

Carannog crossed to Cornwall, and landed at a place called in the *Life* Gwellit (the Grassy). It was probably the long curious creek called the Gannel. Here he resolved to settle, and he borrowed a spade from a poor man, wherewith to dig the ground. He also cut for himself a staff, and at intervals, when tired of digging, he wittled the handle of the staff.

Presently he observed a wood-pigeon fly out of the adjoining grove, and carry off in its beak some of the shavings from his staff. He resolved on following the bird, and he found that she had dropped the chips in one particular spot. He determined to build a church there, and place in it his altar, which had been washed up on the shore.

We are then told that "a voice came to him from heaven and said he should go into exile, and leave his family. Innumerable persons were buried in that city, but he alone went to Ireland." Here we have the first summons, as given in the Léon *Life*, and this is an instance of the sad jumble of which the *Life* (Vesp. A. xiv) is made up. It is not possible to decide, with anything approaching to certainty, what the real order of events was in the life of Carannog; but this, at least, seems clear, that after having been for a while living a solitary life in Wales, he went to Ireland and did missionary work there, then, for some reason that we shall shortly consider, he left Ireland, and came to Cornwall, where he founded the church now called Crantock, and perhaps at the same time Carhampton in Somersetshire, a mile and a-half from Dunster, of which church he was considered the patron. The church passed into the

possession of Bath Abbey, where the festival of the Saint was observed on May 16 (Bath Calendar, *circ.* 1383, in Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 10,628).

Now it is very noteworthy that Carannog or Carantoc has an extended cult in Brittany. There is a parish, Carantec, and another Tregarantec, that bear his name in Finistère, but he is also widely known as S. Caradec, as patron of St. Caradec, near Loudéac, of Saint Caradec, Priziac, and of S. Carreuc. He has, as well, chapels at Mellac, at Pontaven, and is honoured at Quimperlé. He has been dealt with by two writers, B. Oneix, *S. Caradoc en Bretagne,* S. Brieuc, Prud'homme, 1880, and by De la Borderiè, *Les deux Saints Caradec,* Paris, Champion, 1883, but neither being in possession of all known about him in Wales and Ireland, have been able to altogether unriddle the puzzle of his presence in Armorica. That Caradec or Careuc is the same as Carantoc is shown by the commemoration of this saint being always on May 16, which is that of Carantoc in the Irish Martyrologies, and also by his identification in the Breviary lessons with the son (or grandson) of Ceredig. His main settlement was Saint Caradoc near Loudéac, in Côtes du Nord, which is spoken of in the 13th cent. as "Monasterium Caradoci". He is mentioned in the *Life of S. Guenael.* That Saint had been to Britain, and he returned laden with books and followed by forty disciples. He landed first in the Ile de Groix, and then went overland to visit Caradoc, whom he held in high esteem. According to local tradition S. Gonnec or Connoc, and S. Gonery, were among the pupils of Caradoc. That Tennenan was so—but in Ireland—we have already seen. In Morbiban, as well, Carannog has two churches, S. Caradoc Hennebont, and S. Caradec Thégomel; and he is commemorated in the Vannes Breviaries on May 16, the same day of S. Carantoc.

Now it seems to me that the settlements in Cornwall and Brittany of such assistants of S. Patrick as Carannog and Mancen, or Ninio, mean a great deal, for which we look in vain into such scanty documents as have reached us, to find an explanation.

Patrick was supplied with a stream of missioners serving under him from Britain and Armorica. There was a great nursery at Witherne, in Galway, that furnished him with men for work in the North of Ireland; and at Ty Gwyn, in Pembrokeshire, he had a great college under Mancen, otherwise called Ninio the Old, which sent over a supply for the mission field in South Ireland. But we find Mancen also in Cornwall and in Brittany, under the form of Mawgan or Méaugon, in Wales as Meugan. There are two Mawgans in Cornwall. The identity would seem to be established by Mawgan-in-Pyder Feast being observed on July 25, which is the day of Meugant or Ninio in the Irish Martyrologies. In Brittany, near S. Brieuc, is la Méaugon (Llan-Meugant), where the Pardon is observed on the same day. Is it not conceivable that Meugant or Mancen had branch establishments in Armorica and Cornwall to serve as feeders in Ty Gwyn? We know that there was close intercourse between Brittany and Wales and Ireland in the fifth and sixth centuries. And in like manner I would conjecture that the object of Carannog's leaving Ireland was to undertake the very important task of establishing monastic settlements in Cornwall and in Armorica to serve the same purpose as those of Meugant or Mancen.

Tennenan, the disciple of Carannog in Ireland, followed his master. We have unfortunately no early life of this saint, all we know of him is from the lessons in the ancient Breviaries of Léon and Folgoët, which are full of fable. He is there said to have been the pupil of Karadoc

or Karentec, and to have been cured by him of leprosy in Ireland. Afterwards he embarked with S. Senan and S. Ronan, and crossed the sea to Armorica, and landed in the harbour of Brest, near where is now the little town of Landerneau, and founded the church of Ploubennec, near Plabennec. Together with S. Senan (of Iniscathy) and S. Ronan, he had with him two others, who are named Armen and Glanneus, the latter a priest. M. de la Borderiè considers that there were more saints than one that bore the name of Tennenan or Tinidor—for he is known by both names in Brittany. The diocese of Léon is supposed to have had a Tennenan as its bishop, after S. Goulven, but if so, he belongs to the beginning of the seventh century, and as he is ignored by the early writers who composed the list of the Bishops of Léon, the existence of such a bishop is doubtful. One interesting fact is that in the parish of Tregarantec, which by its name shows that it was a tref of Carantoc, S. Tennenan is held to be the patron of the church.

Senan of Iniscathy, who is said to have come over with Tennenan, is widely venerated in Brittany, and finds his place in the ancient Breviaries on March 6. Another Irish Colonist, Kenan, is confounded with Kianan, Bishop of Duleek; his name is contracted to Kay or Quay, and he is the same as the Cornish S. Kea. He is commemorated in Brittany on Sept. 13 and Nov. 5.

Goulven, who is also brought in contact with Carannog, was born in Armorica; his parents, Glaudan and Gologuenn, were refugees from Britain, who landed in the broad shallow bay that now goes by the name of the Anse de Goulven. He was bishop of Léon after Cetemerin, who succeeded Paul of Léon.

Unfortunately we know neither the date of the death of Carannog nor the place where he died, but

there is remarkable consensus as to the day on which he is to be honoured. The Welsh, as well as the Irish, Calendars give that day as May 16. In a MS. Breviary of the diocese of Tréguier, of the fifteenth century, is the entry: "xvii Kal. Junii, Caranauci abb." On the same day, in the Léon Breviary of 1516 in the library of the Frères Lamennais, at Ploërmel: "xvii Kal. Junii, Caradoci abb." In the Vannes Missals of 1530 and 1535 it is the same. Whytford's *Martyrologe*, 1526, an English rendering of the Bridgetine Martyrology of Sion House, also gives the same day. This is the day of the Village Feast at Crantock in Cornwall, and of the Pardon at Carantec in Brittany. The Feliré of Aengus, on May 16, has this entry: "The illustrious death of Cainnech the powerful," and the gloss adds, "*i.e.* Carnech of Tuilec, in the neighbourhood of Cenannas (Kells), and he is of the Britons of Cern (Cornwall)." The Exeter Calendars give his day as May 16.

In the Celtic Litany of the tenth century, published by Mabillon, from a Rheims MS., he is invoked between S. Brendan and S. Gildas.

As to the date of his death, that can only be fixed tentatively. It most probably occurred later than that of Patrick, but scarcely later than 470, for he can hardly have been a young man when engaged on the revision of the laws of Ireland in 438. A brother of S. Carannog was S. Pedr, according to the Welsh genealogists, and it is rather remarkable that a holy well bearing that name should be found in the parish of S. Columb Minor, that adjoins Crantock. The Holy Well of S. Carantock himself is in the midst of the village of Crantock, and a stream steadily flows from it.

The *Life* in the Léon Breviary follows. I will first premise that of this Breviary only two copies are known

to exist, one is in the Bibliothéque Nationale, Paris, and is imperfect: it is without the calendar, and the sanctoriale is wanting from the end of November to the end of June. The other copy is in the possession of the Brothers of Christian Instruction, or Frères Lamenais at Ploërmel. It has the calendar, but is deficient in the names of the saints from November 29 to June 12. It was printed by Didier Maheu, Paris, 1516. I have not printed all the abbreviations.

Lect. I.

Quodam tempore fuit vir nomine Cereticus et hic vir habuit multos filios: quorum unus erat Karadocus nomine. In illis diebus venerunt Scoti et occupaverunt regionem britannicam. Cereticus autem erat senex: et dixerunt seniores, Senex es tu non potes dimicare: debes unum ordinare de filiis tuis qui est senior. Dixerunt illi Karadoco: Oportet te esse regem: Karadocus autem plus diligebat esse regem celestem quam terrenum: et postquam audivit fugam iniit ne invenirent eum. Accepit ergo Karadocus peram cum baculo et sacculo a quodam paupere, et venit in locum qui dicitur Guerith Karantoc et mansit ibi per aliquod temporis. Post multos autem dies venit ad Sanctum Karadocum vox de celo precepitque ut quia hic latere non poterat et quanto ignotior et remotior a suis tanto fieret servus dei utilior: Patricium sequeretur in hyberniam. Karadocus igitur discedit in hyberniam, et ibi incepit construere monasterium. Relatum erat Karadoco in partibus illis apud quemdam tyrannum Dulcemium nomine esse quemdam arborem ornatam atque caram que principis sui fuerat. Venit Karadocus et petiit arborem. Utrum melior es tu dixit tyrannus omnibus sanctis qui postulaverunt eam, non sum dixit Karadocus.

Lect. II.

Tyrannus dixit Voca tamen deum tuum et si ceciderit tua est. Respondit Karadocus: Non est impossibile deo quicquam: et hec dicens oravit Dominum: completa oratione cecidit arbor radicibus extirpatis et stabant attoniti infideles. Credidit ergo tirannus et baptizatus est et omnes sui cum illo conversi sunt ad fidem: et receperunt sacramentum. Hoc lignum artifices portaverunt in crastino ad opus incohatum et scinderunt in quatuor bases. Quadam nocte venerunt religiosi quidam aliunde ad locum et deerant ligna foco ad usum pernoctantium: tunc surrexit Karadocus ad unam basem de quattuor absciditque particulam ex illa. Artifex autem hoc intuens vehementer indignatus est: et decrevit abire: et ait Karodocus: Fili mi mane in hac nocte. Ille vero mansit invitus. Sole autem orto surrexit ut abiret: et exiens circa ecclesiam vidit basam illam similem aliis basibus non habeutentem in se cissuram.

Lect. III.

Erat illis diebus quidam sanctus in hybernia nomine Tenenanus et hic erat leprosus. Vinit igitur ad sanctum Karadocum: sed antequam venisset nunciavit ei angelus venturum ad se Tenenanum: Karadocus cum gaudio et exultatione preparavit balneum suo hospiti. Veniens ille cum exisset jam ecclesiam et orasset occurrit iste obviam illi et osculati sunt invicem benedicentes. Et ducto eo a monasterio ad refecterium cogebat eum oppido ut introiret lavacrum. Ille negabat et inveniebat causas satis ydoneas: denique Karadocus ait: si non intraveris non vives in vita eterna. Cum hoc audisset Tenenanus coactus intravit balneum: accedebat iterum Karadocus ut lavaret eum. Animadvertens igitur Tenenanus quoniam ad se abluendum accederet dixit. Non lavabis me in eter-

num. Respondit Karadocus: Nec tu vives in eternum si non lavero te. Lotus est itaque et statim ut tetigit eum Karadocus sanatus est a lepra: et conquerebatur dicens: Non bene fecisti in me frater: quia forte superbus fiam a modo et multum deceptus ero. Nequaquam ille ait: sed pulchrior eris: et tua caro non erit fetida: tunc sanctus Tenenanus ait: Ingredere et tu ut laveris. Adjuratus ipse ingressus est balneum: Surrexit Tenenanus ut faceret obsequia. Habebat enim Karadocus septem cingula ferrea circa se: et mox ubi tetigit ea Tenenanus fracta sunt omnia. Tunc ait Karadocus: non bene egisti: tibi verum tamen dampnum hoc videtur reparabile. Ait Tenenanus: Nequaquam quia si venerint omnes fabri: non poterunt tibi fabricare cingulum: Et post hec verba laudaverunt deum et facta est pax et unitas inter ipsos.

I may add, in conclusion, that after many and vain efforts to obtain a copy of M. de la Borderiè's article on *The Two Saints Caradec*, on my application, the Bollandist Fathers at Antwerp have most courteously lent me their copy. I find in it that M. de la Borderiè has printed the Latin life from the copy of the Breviary he found in Paris. There are only two or three trifling differences between my transcript and his.

Old County Families of Dyfed.

THE WOGANS OF BOULSTON.

By FRANCIS GREEN.

It might naturally be imagined that the spread of education would tend to stimulate a love of county history amongst the rising generation, but so far from doing this its tendency, it is to be feared, is quite in the opposite direction. In days gone by, when books and newspapers were rarely accessible, folk-lore and the genealogies of the different residents in the neighbourhood were constantly discussed at the fireside, but these have now given place to the topics of the day, and as a result the ancient traditions and other facts in regard to county history are fast being lost to memory. In Pembrokeshire, for instance, a county that is overflowing with interesting features, historical and antiquarian, the old legends, and even the names of families, which not so very long ago must have been household words, are now almost forgotten. Few probably of the rising generation could tell an enquirer who the Wogans were, and even those of maturer age know little beyond the fact that there were families of that name who in days gone by lived at Wiston and Boulston. Yet it is barely a hundred years since the name of Wogan became extinct in the county.

It would be unfair to attribute the decadence of one of the most characteristic traits of the Welsh race from the earliest days to a change in the national disposition;

The Wogans of Bou

Henry Wogan, of Milton, son of Sir John Wogan, Wist

Thomas Wogan, ob. s.p.

Henry Wog Boulston, o

Agnes Tasker, of Harbeston = Richard Wogan, of Boulston, ob. 1541. = Maud, d. of Sir Thomas Phillipps, of Kilsant.

Henry Wogan. = Elizabeth, d. of Thomas Canon of Llawhaden.

Willian Wogan ob. s.p

William Wogan.

David Wogan = Katherine, d. Thos. Herbert, of Colbrook.

Margaret Griffiths. = John Wogan = (1) Jane, d. of Wi ob. 1601. (2) Elizabet Birt, Al marthei

Richard Wogan.

Devereux Wogan, ob. s.p = Magdalen.

Maud Wogan. = Morgan Powell, Mayor of Pembroke, *circ.* 1591.

Jane Wogan.

Elinor Wogan.

Margaret (2) . . . . . = Sir John Wogan, of Boulston, ob. 1636. = (1) Frances, d. Lewis Pollard, of Kings Nympton, Devon.

Rees Wogan. = Janet, d. Llew. Lloyd, of Llanstinan.

Richard Wogan. = Jane Dolby

Frances Wogan.

Maurice Wogan, of Boulston, ob. 1640. = Frances, d. Sir Hugh Owen, of Wilton, ob. 1658.

John Wogan

Peter Wogan, of Carew.

Ell Woga

John Wogan, dead in 1613.

Abraham Wogan, of Boulston, ob. 1651. = Jane, d. of Sir Lewis Mansel, Margam, Glam., ob. 1655.

Sybil Wogan = Rees Bowen, of Upton.

Lewis Wogan, of Boulston, ob. 1702. = Katherine, d. James Phillips, The Priory, Cardigan.

Edward Wogan, ob. ante 1702, s.p.

Anne Wogan, ob. 1715, s.p. = John Laugharne, St. Brides.

13 other Children who predeceased their father.

John Wog Gawdy ob. 1778.

John Wog ob. 1763,

Rev of (183

William Sa of Gawdy I

ulston, Pembrokeshire.

ston=Margaret, d. of Wilcocks Dyer, of Boulston.

gan, of=Elizabeth, sister of Sir James ob. 1499. ap Owen, of Pentre Evan.

m=. . . d. of n, . . . Cresford, p. of Clydon.

Elizabeth=William ap Owen David Gwyn.

Daughter.=Thos. Bateman, of Honeboro'.

Margaret=William Morgan, of Muddlescombe.

. Richard Wogan, 'iston. eth, d. Robert Alderman of Caren.

Anne Wogan=Henry Adams, J.P. for Pembrokeshire, 1591.

Maurice Wogan, of=Elizabeth. Bloxham, Oxon., ob. 1557.

William Wogan=

Margaret=Wogan.

yn

Henry Wogan.

Maud Wogan. Morris Bowen, of Llochtrwye.

. . . .=William Davids, Regist'r

Ann Wogan William Adams.

Cecilia=Rev. Roland Lloyd of Fletherstown.

llen=John Voyle, of gan. Haverfordwest.

Maud Wogan.

Elizabeth Wogan.

Jane=Wm. Jones. Wogan.

John Wogan, of Gawdy Hall (probably a son of John, the brother of Maurice Wogan), ob. 1707.=Sarah, d. Robert Longe, of Fowlden, Norfolk, and widow of Tobias Frere, the son of Tobias Frere, M.P. for Norfolk in 1654; ob. 1684.

John Wogan, of=Elizabeth Sancroft, Gawdy Hall, niece of Archbishop ob. 1723. Sancroft.

Walter Wogan.

gan, of=Elizabeth, d. of William Hall, Sancroft, of Suffolk, 8. ob. 1786.

Sarah Wogan,=Rev. Gervas Holmes, ob. 1764. of Fressingfield, ob. 1776.

Elizabeth Wogan, ob. 1728, æt. 18.

gan, , s.p.

Elizabeth Wogan, ob. 1773, spinster.

Rev. Gervas Holmes, of=Rebecca Grimwood, Gawdy Hall, ob. 1796. ob. 1718, æt. 73.

v. John Holmes,=Anne, d. Rev. Wm. Gawdy Hall, ob. Whitear, of Ore, 31. Sussex, ob. 1877.

Rev. Gervas Holmes.

Rebecca Holmes.=Rev. Wm. Whitear.

ancroft Holmes,=Hester Elizabeth, d. Davies Gilbert, Hall, ob. 1849 of Eastbourne, ob. 1885.

Anna Holmes, ob. 1881.

Charlotte Holmes.

John Sancroft Holmes, the=Edith Kingscote, d. Henry present owner of Gawdy Kingscote, of Kingscote, Hall. Gloucestershire.

it is not that "Young Pembrokeshire" has adopted the tenets of Gallio, but that he has not the opportunity of gaining the knowledge. There is no history of the county that can be properly so called, and the only means open to the student is long and tedious research among the musty and in many cases almost illegible records belonging to the nation and private individuals in different parts of the country. Only those who have hunted these preserves are aware of the mass of chaff, so to speak, which has to be winnowed by the searcher in order to obtain a grain of wheat for his use. In the Record Office, for instance, there are bundles of documents for which there are no indexes, and one cannot help feeling that a good deal of money expended on procuring Returns for Parliament—many of them of no earthly interest to any one except the member desiring the same—might be much better laid out in making the records of the country accessible to the nation.

These are the reflections that occurred to me after delving into England's "Muniment Chest", in which I came across several incidents in connection with the Wogans, of so interesting a nature that I was induced to attempt a sketch of the family. I propose in this article to touch on the Wogans of Boulston, which although but an offshoot from the main stem at Wiston, at one time almost rivalled the parent line in importance and wealth of possessions. It is unanimously agreed by Welsh genealogists that the Wogans are of Welsh descent. The name is said to be a corruption of Gwgan, the son of Bleddyn ap Maenarch, Chieftain of Brycheiniog, who was slain about the year 1090 in a battle with Bernard Newmarch, the Norman Baron. Gwgan, according to the Welsh pedigrees, married Gwenllian, the daughter and heiress of Philip Gwys or Wizo, a Fleming, who then held

Wiston, and through this marriage that property came into the possession of the Wogan family, and remained in it over six hundred years. While there is no doubt that Wiston was owned for that period by the Wogans, it is plainly evident that the compilers of the pedigrees are in error as to Gwgan having married Gwenllian Gwys. Philip Gwys was alive in 1193, and Gwgan must have been born before 1090; it is therefore practically impossible that this union could have taken place. In all probability the genealogists have left out a generation or two, and it was a descendant of Gwgan who was the bridegroom on the occasion.

Another hypothesis, mentioned in Count O'Kelly's memoir of the family, is that the Wogans are descended from Ugus, a Roman Patrician from Florence. This derivation is so unsupported by even traditionary evidence in Wales that, but for the fact that it was again brought forward this year in an article in the *Cornhill Magazine,* I should not have referred to it. If the founder of the family was a foreigner it would be much more reasonable to suppose that he was a Norman. Yet there is no trace of the name in the Roll of Battle Abbey, although those of most of the *advenae* who settled in the county are to be found in it, including that of Perrott, a family that did not for centuries afterwards attain anything like the standing of the Wogans. On the whole, the preponderance of the evidence, if such it may be called, is in favour of a Welsh origin. First we have the testimony of the Welsh genealogists, and although they are frequently wrong as to details, I have generally found, where documents are available to test their statements, that in the main they are correct. It might be contended that the present pronunciation of the name does not very closely approximate that of Gwgan. I would suggest, however, that formerly the pronunciation

was much closer, and that at a very early date the first syllable was enunciated soft. In the earliest documents the name is spelled as at present, but as far back as 1331 it is written "Wougan", which was probably pronounced as in French, and some years later it is written "Woogan". The more convincing fact is the rarity of the name in England in early times. Prior to 1600 the name "Wogan", so far as I have been able to ascertain, was confined entirely to members of the Welsh and Irish branches. There was a family named Owghan at Woodham Walter, in Essex, in 1658, but probably this is merely a rendering of Orgen or Worgan, which is not an uncommon name in England. There was also a Wogan who owned lands in England in 1311-12. In a Fine made in 5th Edward II, a Richard Wogan and his wife Alice granted two messuages, 1½ virgates of arable land, and 10 acres of meadow in La Cloude and Cameleye in Somersetshire, to Walter de la Haye and his wife Cecilia. This might suggest a Norman origin for the Wogan family, but on the other hand the Welsh pedigrees state that one of the earliest Wogans of Wiston married Margaret, the daughter and heiress of Adam de Staunton or Stanton, and this is to some extent borne out by a Patent in 1301, by which a John Wogan (probably the Justiciary of Ireland, and in that case owner of lands in Pembrokeshire) was granted the marriage of Margaret, the daughter and one of the heirs of Adam de Stanton, tenant-in-chief in Ireland. Now in 1311-12 there were Stauntons who owned property in Somersetshire, and as nothing is more likely than that John Wogan married Margaret Staunton to his son, or at all events a near relative, it is quite possible that Alice was the same person as Margaret, and that the lands mentioned in the Fine formed part of her jointure.

After this brief review of the origin of the Wogans we

will now turn to the branch which settled at Boulston. The founder was Henry, the son of Sir John Wogan of Wiston. Owing to the absence of dates in the Welsh pedigrees and the partiality of the family to the name of John, it has been impossible to decide with any degree of certainty which particular Sir John this is. The first Henry Wogan of Boulston, is described by Lewis Dunn as of Milton,[1] a property which was presumably given to him by his father. The Cheetham MSS. state that he married Margaret, or, according to Lewis Dunn, Joan, the daughter of Wilcocks Dyer, of Boulston, and it must have been through this union that that estate came into the possession of this branch. The Wogan tombstone at Boulston church describes him as Sir Henry Wogan, and there is little doubt that he is the Sir Henry Wogan who was a witness to a Release made by John Hogekyn, rector of the church of St. Bridget, to John Don and John Elliott, of the manor of Robertiston and Nolton, in October 1453-4, and in which he is described as a knight and steward of Haverfordwest. (*Ancient Deeds Cal.*, p. 365.) Lewis Dunn, who is corroborated by Geo. Owen's MSS., states that the children of the marriage were:—

(1) Thomas Wogan, who apparently died without issue. According to the Harleian MSS., No. 14,314, fol. 86*b*, he was the heir.

(2) Henry Wogan, who inherited the property, presumably on the death of his brother.

The Cheetham MSS. make no mention of Thomas, but trace the descent through his brother Henry, while Vincent brings the line through Thomas. It is, however, the opinion of E. L., who edited an edition of the Cheetham MSS., that these records were the work of Sir

[1] In Burton parish.

John Wogan, who married Frances Pollard, and in that case they should be the better authority. The memorial stone in Boulston Church, and also Geo. Owen's MSS., trace the descent through Henry, so there seems little doubt that Vincent's Collection is wrong on this point. Possibly the explanation is that Thomas Wogan was a priest. Mention is made in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus,* taken in 27th Henry VIII (1535-6), of a Thomas Wogan, who was rector of Lawrenny, Nolton, and Henry's Mote in Pembrokeshire, all of which benefices were in the gift of John Wogan of Wiston. Unfortunately, the lack of details and dates renders it impossible to form any reliable opinion on the question. The problem is not assisted by the will of Henry Wogan—the earliest will of any of the family that I have come across—which so far as the date is concerned might have been made either by the brother of Thomas or by his father. The document was executed on the 31st Aug. 1499, and the testator describes himself as "Henricus Ogan." No address is given, but he desired to be buried in the church of St. Mary the Virgin, at Woran.[1] Now as Milton is very much nearer to Warren than is Boulston, the presumption is that the testator lived at the former place ; this would suggest that the will was made by the first Henry, as one would naturally expect that his son would have come into possession of Boulston, and have resided there before his death. The assumption that the first Henry was the maker of the will is further strengthened by the fact that while the testator bequeaths a legacy of 100 Marks to Alicia "my daughter", he does not refer to Richard Ogan, whom he makes residuary legatee, as his son.

There are several other interesting questions opened

[1] Warren.

up by this will. A legacy of 6*s*. 8*d*. is given to the church of St. Mary at Woran,[1] 20*s*. to the church of St. David's, and 6*s*. 8*d*. to the church of Whitlakyngton, in Somersetshire. This again indicates that there was some connection between the Welsh Wogans and Somersetshire, and, thanks to this clue, just as this page was going to press, further evidence turned up which proves, beyond a doubt, that the testator was the second Henry. An Inquisition held at Bridgwater in the 15th Henry VII, on the estate of a Henry Wogan, states that he died on the 31st Aug. 1499, and that Richard, his son and heir, was then 22 years of age and more. The date of the death thus corresponds exactly with that of the will, satisfactorily proving the identity of Henry Wogan. The Inquisition states that he held a messuage and 101 acres of land, called Orchardiston, in Knightisby, in Somersetshire.

Further research in Somerset House revealed the existence of an offshoot of the family there in later times. Among the records is a will of John Wogan of Sylving,[2] in the parish of Whitelakington, dated 27th Oct. 1558, and proved on 7th May 1559. By this instrument the testator bequeathed 3*s*. 4*d*. to each of the churches of Pocklynchrokepe, Stocklynch Maude'hyn,[3] and Puckington, and desired his body to be buried at Whitelakington church "amongst my ancestors". In his will only one child is mentioned, a daughter, Phillippa, to whom he gives £100 "towards her marriage", conditionally that she be "ruled by her mother", but it would seem that he also had another daughter. His wife, whom he makes residuary legatee, appears to have been Anne Rose, as the testator bequeaths to Nicholas Rose, whom he styles "my brother-in-law", his best gown. He also refers to his

[1] Warren. [2] Syvinch. [3] Stocklinch Magdalene.

"brother", Enthebert Rose. His wife Anne survived him, as she took out probate to the will, and I think there is little doubt that she was the Agnes Wogan whose will, dated the 8th Feb. 1574, was proved on 30th April 1575. This Agnes Wogan is described as of Sylvinche, Somersetshire, and she also desired to be buried in Whitelakington church. She made her daughter Mary, the wife of William Stourton, of Woemyster,[1] her residuary legatee, but omitted any reference to Phillippa. The *Visitation of Somersetshire* in 1623 (Harleian MSS., No. 1141) states that Mary, daughter and co-heiress of John Wogan, of Sylvinch, married Robert Morgan of South Mapleton, Dorset. This is probably a mistake for Phillippa. Agnes Wogan was a lady of property. She devised her estates, which comprised lands and manors in Brent Marshe, in Crokern, in Meriatt, in Shepton, in Heachin, in Stocklinche-in-Sea, in Hilcom, in Chilworthye, in Buckland, in Croome St. Nicholas, Donyett Pisend'she, Langeporte, Estover, Westover, and Cwry Rivell, in the county of Somerset, to George Speake of Whitelakington, knt., William Stourton of Worminster, Esq., and John Morgan of Maperton, Dorset, gent., for the use of John Rose, son of Nicholas Rose of Shepton Beachin, in the county of Somerset. This Nicholas Rose I believe to be the testatrix's brother.

We must now return to the direct line of the Wogans of Boulston. Henry Wogan, the son of Sir Henry Wogan, married Elizabeth, the sister of Sir James ap Owen of Pentre Evan in the Lordship of Kemes in Pembrokeshire, and the daughter, according to the Cheetham MSS., of Owen Bowen of Pentre Evan. The issue of this marriage was :—

(1) Richard Wogan.

[1] Warminster.

(2) Henry Wogan, who married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Canon of Llawhaden, and founded a branch which existed in Oxfordshire for a couple of generations. (Harl. MSS., No. 14,314, fol. 86*b*.)

(3) Margaret Wogan, who married Henry Morgan of Muddlescombe, Glam. (Geo. Owen.)

(4) William Wogan, who married the daughter of — Cresford of Clydon, and died without issue. (Harl. MSS., 14,314, fol. 86*b*.)

(5) Elizabeth Wogan, the wife of William ap Owen David Gwyn. (G. Owen.)

(6) A daughter, who married Thomas Bateman of Honeborough. (G. Owen.) Possibly the Alicia mentioned in Henry Wogan's will.

Richard Wogan, the eldest son, who succeeded to the estate, was the first of the family, so far as the records show, to reside at Boulston. He lived in the time of Henry VIII, and appears to have had little regard for the power of the Church, as it is stated in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, taken the 27th of that reign (1535-6), that nothing had been received that year or for many years previously from the manor of Villa Clement, the property of the Archdeacon of Menevia, which formerly yielded £10 4*s*. 8*d*. per annum, because Richard Wogan, of Boulston, had seized and held it by main force, but by what title he did so the Commissioners could not ascertain. I have been unable to find many references to Richard Wogan, but fortunately his will is registered at Somerset House, and this document throws a good deal of light, not only on his family but on his surroundings. It is dated 23rd Nov. 1540, and was proved on 29th April 1541, by Matilda Wogan, his widow, who, it is thus clear, survived him. Matilda Wogan, or Maud as she is called by Welsh genealogists,

was the daughter of Sir Thomas Phillipps of Kilsant, Pembrokeshire, and the grand-daughter of Owen Donne of Picton. She was a much-married lady, for after the death of her husband, Richard Wogan, she married Morgan Jones of Harmeston, and, surviving him, married Nicholas Vaughan. According to Lewis Dunn (vol. i, p. 171), she was also the wife of Owen Barrett of Gellywick.

Richard Wogan in his will mentions only two children —a son and a daughter Anne—as being the issue of this marriage, but George Owen's MS. states that there was a daughter Jane. There is scarcely a doubt, however, that in this case the Pembrokeshire historian has made a mistake in the name. The children are as follows:—

(1) John Wogan.

(2) Anne Wogan, the wife of Henry Adams of Patrickschurch. (Cheetham MSS.)

The two children, John and Anne, were both under age in 1540, the date of the will, as the testator bequeathed to his wife his "Manor Place of Bulliston and Hampton duringe her widohed for ye tender age of the childerne", and both these properties are stated to be "socage tenor". To the church of Burton he gave 6*s.* 8*d.*, the one half of the sum to the chancell and the other to the body of the church, and he also desired to be buried before the high altar of that church. It would appear that his wishes in this respect were carried out, as there is in Burton church a sixteenth century tomb in the position mentioned, on which are inscribed the initials, "R. W." The tomb is thus described (*Arch. Camb.*, Series V, vol. xv, p. 183) in an account of a visit by the Association in 1897:—

"There is a remarkable altar-tomb to a Wogan of Boulston, with a slab bearing a cross ragulé and two shields on the top, and the sides decorated with heraldic shields, one bearing the punning device of the sails of a windmill above a cask, meaning mill tun or Milton,

the Wogans being lords of Boulston and Milton. The slab on the top of the tomb seems to be of the fourteenth century and the rest of the tomb of the fifteenth or sixteenth century."

Besides the son and daughter mentioned in his will, Richard Wogan had two illegitimate children: William Wogan and David Wogan. Although not explicitly stated, the presumption is that their mother was Agnes Tasker—a pedigree in *Lewis Dunn's Visitation* states that she was—as the testator acknowledges that she holds a tenement in Harbeston of the annual value of seven Nobles for her life, and that after her decease the property was to revert to his heir. The presumption is strengthened by the fact that this clause comes immediately between the bequests to his son John and William Wogan. It is interesting to note that the "bar sinister" in 1540 was by no means such a disability as at the present day. It would appear, from the tenor of the will, that if the sons William and David were not brought up with their half-brother they were evidently held in high esteem by their father. Thus all the real estate, subject to certain bequests, is left by the testator to his son John Wogan, together with specified valuables which in the event of his dying without issue were to go to William and David Wogan. William is also made trustee of his half-sister Anne Wogan, as well as receiver of all the testator's socage lands, while he is left an annuity of 20 Nobles per annum for his life. Provision is also made for David Wogan. He is given a quarter-share in a barge and a quarter-share in the ship called the "Elbewe." As the other shares in these vessels were bequeathed to John Wogan, David was thus a partner with his half-brother. David was also given for his life a tenement with the lands appertaining thereto in Herston[1] and Therston. He married Katherine,

[1] Hearston and Thurston, in Burton parish.

the daughter of Thomas Herbert, and the grand-daughter of Sir Richard Herbert of Colbrook. From the marriage there was a daughter Maud, who married Morgan Powell, mayor of Pembroke about 1591; also two sons, Richard and Devereux. The latter died prior to 1616, and was a Citizen and Clothworker of London. He married Magdalen—who on his death took, in 1617, as her second husband, William Tailler, a Citizen and Merchant Taylor, of London. Devereux Wogan left no children. Of Richard, the son of David Wogan, I have found no further mention.

Richard Wogan of Boulston bequeathed all his "goods and cattalls", with certain exceptions, to his wife Maud, and it is the specified items which make the instrument so interesting at the present day. He evidently kept a certain amount of land in hand, as he gave to his wife 200 sheep and . . . . "hed of beasts"; the number of the latter however is unfortunately left blank in the will. We also get an insight into the contents of his plate chest. Among the articles left to his wife were two bowl pieces of silver with one ewer and two flat pieces; a standing cup with a ewer, the top of the cover being ornamented with a squirrel; another standing cup of silver with a cover, on which was a little boy bearing a child; two salt (cellars) with two covers, one gilt and the other partly gilt; a silver taster; a . . . . with a silver band and a foot of silver; a chalice; two dozen silver spoons; a small silver cover and a "napple cuppe of silver." In these days of women's rights it is curious to read that the testator directed his wife's "wering garments to be at her own pleasure and dysposytion". These included a "Dymysent[1] girdell of clene golde with a dyamonde and a ruby therein, a chayne and a bullyon of

[1] Probably Damascene.

golde with a crosse of sylver and a crosse of golde withe a dyamonde in the mydde and a ruby one every quarter, an ooche of golde with a dyamonde in the myddest and also a great parle (pearl), also a chayne of golde of the weight of eight double Ducketts."[1] To John, his son, he left "myne owen broche, and it hath a garnet in the mydell as it is set aboute with pearles".

Mention is also made of "two great gunnes withe their foure chambers", which, with a great crock in the kitchen, the testator desired should be kept in the house of Boulston. What kind of guns these were can only be surmised, but there can be little doubt that they were intended for the defence of the Manor House, and possibly to command any ships passing up and down the river. Various legacies and bequests for life and in fee were made to servants and others, in most cases with the proviso that the recipients would faithfully serve his wife and his son John. The real estate so devised was briefly as follows:—

House at Slebech to Richard Miller for life.

House of Westfelde, on the east side of the said township, to John Taylor for life.

House in the same township to Richard Howell for life.

"Calbrocke," in the fields of Prendergast, to Hugh Lloid for life.

The southest house in Dale to Anne Tasker for her life.

Tenement and lands at Wiston to John Myller.

The other properties mentioned in the will were:—

(1) Lands of Repston; the manor place of Crapull, Williamyston, Frogholl, Spittell, Williamyston at the same place, and Crasselley.

(2) The lordship of Sutton; lands within the Burrowes of Haverfordwest, Cronett and Poyston; a Noble of Rent in Houston, Mylton, Flethershill, with a "tockynge" (tucking) mill, and Wolldale and Camros; a meadow by the Friars' garden; the Bechem with my

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[1] Ducats. The Dutch ducat weighed 3·494 grammes.

lands in Dale except the tenement given to Anne Tasker; lands within the Burrowes of Saint Davys within Chayltie. All which towns and villages were held by socage tenure.

The properties in the first paragraph were charged with a legacy of 200 Marks for a marriage portion for Anne Wogan. The sum was to be raised by William Wogan and kept, until that event took place, in the common coffer of the town of Haverfordwest or elsewhere. at the discretion of the overseers of the will. The overseers appointed were: "my brother, John Phillips of Picton, Thomas Johns of Haroldiston, Esquires; Master Thomas Lloid, Chaunter of Sainte Davyde's; and Master John Lewis, Treasurer" there.

On the death of Richard Wogan, which as I have pointed out must have occurred about the year 1541, his son John, on attaining his majority, succeeded to the property. According to the tombstone at Boulston church he was raised to the honour of knighthood, but curiously enough he is not so described in his will. He was Sheriff for Pembrokeshire several times, but owing to his son bearing the same name it is impossible in all cases to distinguish the respective offices held by each. Mr. Egerton Allen, in his interesting and useful work, *Sheriffs of Pembrokeshire*, states that Sir John Wogan, senior, held that office in 1566, 1574, 1584, 1598 and 1606, and that he was created a knight in the interval between 1584 and 1598. It is, however, certain that he was not sheriff in 1606, as I recently came across his will in the Carmarthen Registry, which appears in the index as having been proved in 1601.

All authorities, including the Cheetham MSS., agree that Sir John Wogan married Jane, the daughter of Richard Wogan, of Wiston, thus once more uniting the two branches of the family. After her death he took for

his second wife Elizabeth, daughter of Robert Byrte, of Llwyndiris, Cardiganshire, Alderman of Carmarthen, and Elizabeth, co-heiress of Edward Ryd, of Castle Moel,[1] Carmarthenshire. She was the widow of Einion Phillipps, the grandson of Sir Thomas Phillipps of Kilsant, Pembrokeshire, and in the will is described as "Dame Elizabeth Wogan, *alias* Byrte." A portion of this instrument, which is as interesting as that of Sir John's father, has been torn off and some of the writing is illegible, but sufficient remains to enable the reader to ascertain not only the particulars of the estate, but also to obtain an insight into the life of that period. The first bequest is the munificent gift of 4*d.* to the Cathedral church of St. David's; then comes a number of bequests to Dame Elizabeth, including "all her apparel of all sortes, all her ringes and juelles with alsoe six of my best geldinge," all the movable and immovable household goods at the house of Porth Rynen in Cardiganshire, and similar articles, together with all the corn cut or growing on the dower house and lands "at Llanvernach . . . . cauled Erwyon," and at the dower house and lands of Sutteine.[2] Dame Elizabeth was evidently an heiress, as not only are the lands at Sutteine, together with the stock, bequeathed "to remayne as yt is laye downe in the deade of gifte", but all the lands and leases of lands or mills, stock and household effects, "such as plate, or whatever the said Elizabeth was owner of at the day of my marriadge unto her the said Elizabeth, which to me hath desended and by reight ought to desend frome her unto me by the said marriadge, wherever the same may be in the counties of Pembroche, Carmarthen, or Cardigan," are also left to her. In addition, her husband gave her the cattle, goods,

[1] Green Castle. [2] Sutton, in Lambston parish.

and lease of a house in Henllan Amgoed in Cardiganshire, the lease of a mill called Molfre Dyffryne, otherwise "Wyrgloedd", in the parish of Clydey, Pembrokeshire, and the cattle and chattels mentioned in a schedule annexed to a deed of gift by him to John Stradley and John Hogwent, gent., to the use of his wife Dame Elizabeth. Sir John Wogan also left his wife the messuage and lands of Milton, with the tenement thereunto belonging called "Milton Mylle", in the parish of Burton. This bequest, simple in itself, is important, as it sets at rest the uncertainty which existed as to the identity of the original home of the Boulston branch. The will also reveals that the testator kept Milton in hand, for he not only bequeathed "the store of cattle and stuffe" there to his wife, but gave, at the end of his will, the following list of the animals :—

A note of which cattle and sheepe I shall leave my executor :— Imprimis, of cattle upon Boulston ground . . . . fourscore lacking one. Item, of sheepe there . . . . twoe hundred and fower. Besides horses, mares and coultes, and besides the household stuffe.

The stock of Milton :—

Imprimis, of keyne	foreteene.
Item, of sheepe	one hundred.
Imprimis, of keyne	twelve.
Item, of oxen	twoe.
Item, of sheepe	a hundred.

Milton would appear to have been kept as a dower house, as his son and heir John, whom he appoints executor, is described as of that place. Sir John had two illegitimate daughters, Jayne and Elinor, the latter being the daughter of Margaret Griffith, the daughter of Jennet Webbe. To each of these two daughters the sum of forty pounds was bequeathed for a marriage portion, and their bringing up was entrusted by Sir John to his wife Elizabeth. In the event of John, the son and heir,

declining to act as executor, Sir John appointed his cousin Thomas Lloyd, treasurer of St. David's Cathedral, as a substitute. This Thomas Lloyd, according to Jones and Freeman's *History of St. David's,* was the second son of Hugh Lloyd of Llanllyr, Cardiganshire, descended from the Lloyds of Castle Howell in that county. He died in 1613, and his memorial stone, erected by his son Marmaduke Lloyd, of the Middle Temple, is in the Cathedral at St. David's.

There is a curious memorandum appended to Sir John's will which indicates that if relations were not exactly strained between him and his sons-in-law, he placed very little confidence in them. The memorandum, which of course refers to the husbands of his legitimate daughters, runs as follows :—

> It may be that my twoe sonnes in lawes will say that I owe them some mariadge mony, but I p'test before God I have payd them all the moneys I p'missed them, and to ony of them more than I p'missed them.

There can be little doubt that it was Sir John Wogan, senior, who sat on the *post mortem* inquisition held on the 24th Oct. 1578 (20th Elizabeth), at Haverfordwest, to enquire into the goods of his relative, John Wogan, of Wiston. In the Roll of a subsidy granted in 1562-3 (5th Eliz.) he is described as "John Wogan, armiger," and his assessment for lands in "Bulston" parish, valued at £10, is 23*s.* 5*d.* In the Inquisition referred to he is not described as "miles".

It is evident that Sir John Wogan, senior, on more than one occasion had difficulties with the Government. Mention is made in the Privy Council Acts that on 15th Sept. 1564, "Edward Vaughan, John Wogan, and Francis Laugharne, prisoners in the Flete, shulde be brought at oone of the clock at afternoone to morrow before my

Lords of the Counsell." It is possible that the John Wogan referred to may have been his relative of Wiston, but the fact of his being coupled with Francis Laugharne suggests that he was of Boulston. The imprisonment was apparently due to noncompliance with an order to deliver up nine of Cobham's men, as, on bonds being given on 30th Sept. for their constant attendance in London, they were released from their confinement. In 1579 we find John Wogan of Boulston in a more dignified position. It was at this date that George Owen was engaged in asserting his rights as lord of Kemes, in the course of which he instituted no fewer than four different suits in the Star Chamber. Party feeling ran high, and recourse was had to some extraordinary proceedings. George Owen was accused of having counterfeited the great seale of Arms of William, Earl of Pembroke, the first of that name, and of having forged a certain charter and deeds. As a result, a letter was sent from the Privy Council instructing Thomas Powell, the sheriff of the county of Pembroke, John Barlow, Morgan Phillippes, John Wogan of Boulston, and Eynok Phillippes, to search George Owen's house and to examine certain persons to be nominated by William Gwynne of Rickerston. An interesting description of the search is given in Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, but it will suffice here to say that the charge fell through.

There is a passing reference to Sir John Wogan in 1588, when on Jan. 26, we learn from the Privy Council Acts, a certain William Cattell, James Dun and David Eastmont, were bound before him to appear personally before the Privy Council. In the same year Sir John was involved in considerable difficulties through the dealings of certain pirates with some of the responsible officials and inhabitants of Pembrokeshire and Carmarthen, and indeed there seems some doubt as to whether Sir John was not

himself mixed up in the transactions. There are several letters on the subject in the Privy Council Acts, and it would appear that there were at least two cases in which illegalities were committed. The first occurred in 1588, when a complaint was lodged by George Pery, John Osborne, William Erwyn[1] and James Brown, subjects of the "King of Scottes"—a description which reminds us that at that time Scotland had not been united to England. It seems that a vessel called the Elizabeth of Orkney, belonging to the complainants, which was laden with salt, had been captured by a pirate named Thomas Cooke and brought by him into Milford Haven, where the cargo had been sold to certain inhabitants of the towns of Haverfordwest and Carmarthen and the surrounding districts. These were:—Sir John Wogan; John Morryce, mayor of Carmarthen; Thomas Canon of Haverfordwest; John Lloyd of Haverfordwest; John Vaughan,[2] Customer, of Haverfordwest, and Jenkin David of Haverfordwest. The result of this complaint was that in Dec. 1588 Sir John Wogan was commanded by the Council to make restitution to Mr. Robert Brown. This order seems to have been prompted by the interposition of Archibald Douglas, the Scottish Ambassador, as on 24th Feb. 1589, Sir John wrote the following letter, which is amongst the Salisbury MSS.:—

I can by no means as yet come by the Customer, neither by Jethro Biggs, John Moris, Maud Nothed, John Lloyd, or Mathew Synett. Neither shall I ever be able to apprehend those of Carmarthen. It may be well to send a warrant to apprehend and bind the mayor and bailiffs of Carmarthen to appear or else that they deliver the said

[1] The complaint at this date was made by Robert Brown, who is described as a Scotchman. He was probably the same person as James Brown. The particulars given are taken from later letters.

[2] Chief of the Customs.

persons to me, that I may bind them for appearance or commit them to gaol for the county of Pembroke. If they should be committed to the gaol of Carmarthen, they should have that favour that they would not care for the matter. The rest I doubt not to have before Easter, or else make them fly the country, which Synnett hath done. John Lloyd keepeth his house in Haverfordwest. If I knew that I might do it with their Honours' liking, I would break his house and fetch him out. If I cannot get them before Easter, then must new letters be sent.

This letter indicates the condition of the country in 1589. Pembrokeshire and Carmarthenshire, like Galway, seem to have been a little west of the law. Some of the leading inhabitants of the former county, as well as of Carmarthen, were practically setting it at defiance, and there was more than a suspicion that Sir John Wogan was also mixed up in the transaction. The case was referred for hearing to the Ambassador for Scotland, the Judge of the Admiralty, and Mr. Beale, and Sir John was allowed to go to Wales to deal with the offenders. This was in the previous November, and the result of his efforts is recorded in the letter above quoted. The Council next ordered Sir John to appear in London—an order which he manifestly disliked and begged to be excused, as it would cost him at least £200. In a letter dated 11th April 1589, to Sir Francis Walsingham, and another two days later to the Scottish Ambassador, we get some further light on the case. According to Sir John's account the salt was brought into Milford Haven by John Kyfte and Cooke. A declaration made by Sir John on 22nd Sept. 1590 states that it was sold to Vaughan and Kyfte. The probable explanation of this discrepancy is that Cooke, the pirate, sold the cargo when lower down the Haven to Vaughan and Kyfte, and that they brought it up and resold it to the parties mentioned. Now John Vaughan was the "Customer" of Haverfordwest, in other words a custom-house officer, while John Kyfte was the local sergeant of

the Admiralty. Both John Vaughan and Kyfte had been mixed up in a somewhat similar transaction in connection with the pirate Herberde, in which Sir John Perrott of Haroldston was concerned in 1577; indeed it would appear that there was little compunction about such traffic shown by any of the residents. Sir John Wogan protested that he had had no dealings either with the ship or the goods, beyond that he had received sixty-six barrels of salt delivered to him at Haverfordwest by John Vaughan and John Kyfte, as a tenth due to the Lord Admiral, and that he had put his hand to no indenture of Prisement nor had he caused the same to be prised. When the salt was received he believed that it was, as then reported, "Portingalle's goods," and had no idea that it belonged to "Irish or Scottishmen," until they appeared in person to claim it. He concludes with the following appeal to the Scottish Ambassador:—"I have got with dealing in the commission many enemies in the country, gentlemen of good account and others, therefore it is good for me to deal until the cause be ended as to leave. . . . . Truly that salt hath cost me already one way and another as good as £200. I cannot come to London under seven or eight score pounds, which I hope you will consider, and favour me so much as I may save the same." (Salisbury MSS.)

The matter dragged on until 28th Oct. 1590, when it assumed international importance. On that date orders were sent to Dr. Awbrey, Dr. Caesar and Mr. Robert Beale, to do justice in the matter, and, before dismissing the parties, to report to the Council, so that it might acquaint the "King of Scottes" with what had been done for the contentment of his subjects, and consider "what shal be furder meete to be done with the parties for their contempte in not appearing uppon their Lord-

ships' sundrie warrauntes and messengers sent for them." The end of the matter was a kind of compromise. The Privy Council, on 26 Nov. 1590, issued an order that Sir John Wogan, then Vice-Admiral of South Wales, who had received seventy barrels of salt—it will be remembered that in his defence he owned up to only sixty-six barrels—should pay the sum of £32, or at the rate of 13*s.* 4*d.*[1] per barrel, as compensation to the Scotchmen; Thomas Canon, £13 6*s.* 8*d.*, and John Kyfte, who was then a prisoner in the Marshalsea, presumably for his laches in duty, was mulcted to the tune of £30. John Vaughan was called upon for £40, and was to deliver up the ship "with her tacklings and furniture as she now remaineth." Any that refused to pay the respective sums were to be committed to prison until they did, and the other persons who had already compounded and had obtained acquittances were to be let alone. From this it would seem that the Mayor of Carmarthen, Jenkin David, and John Lloyd of Haverfordwest, had previously come to terms. Whether Synnett returned to face the music is not disclosed.

The second little complication in which Sir John Wogan was concerned was also in connection with a Scotchman. On the 4th May 1590, there was a letter sent by the Privy Council to the Judge of the Admiralty to examine into the charge of George Paddy, a "pore Skotchman", who complained that he had been "spoiled at sea by Sir John Wogan, whereby he alleageth to have been indamaged to the value of fower hundred poundes." From this it might be assumed that Sir John had started business as a pirate on the high seas, but it appears from a later order that he was merely "the occasion that

[1] The arithmetic appears somewhat weak, but this is as it reads in the volume published by the Record Office.

certaine persons bought the goods of a poor Scottishman," and he was instructed either to compel such persons to make satisfaction, assist in apprehending them, or to repair to the Court without delay. Whether the Council experienced as much difficulty in bringing this matter to a conclusion as in the other affair, is unfortunately left in doubt. All that is known is that in December of that year a warrant was issued for his arrest, and of the others concerned, unless he appeared at the Court to answer for his refusal to give satisfaction, and on 5th May 1591 another letter was sent to him requiring his immediate appearance to answer "certain matters objected against him."

It would appear that in April 1590 Pembrokeshire was alarmed by fear of a Spanish invasion. The Council, it seems, had been informed by certain arrivals at Milford Haven from sea, that they had seen a fleet apparently coming from Cape Finistere on a course towards Ireland, and as a result Sir John was instructed to order his Deputy-Lieutenant to put all the forces of the county into readiness to defend the same. From this it would seem that Sir John was Lord-Lieutenant of the county.

In a subsidy roll of the assessment of three payments of three subsidies granted on the inhabitants of the county of Pembroke in 1596-8 (39 and 40 Eliz.), John Wogan, miles, is down for 40*s*. for lands at Boulston of the value of £10.

Sir John Wogan apparently had no children from his second marriage. The issue from his union with Jane Wogan, according to George Owen, who died in 1630, and must therefore have been well qualified to speak on the matter, was :—

(1) John Wogan.

(2) Rees Wogan, who married Janet, daughter and

(according to an old MS. said to have been copied, by Thomas Tucker of Sealyham, from an original book) co-heiress of Llewellin Lloyd, of Llanstinan, near Letterston, Pembrokeshire. From this marriage came the Wogans of Llanstinan.

(3) Richard Wogan, who married Jane Dolbyn.

(4) Henry Wogan.

(5) Maud Wogan, who married Morris Bowen, of Lochtruye.[1] (Middle Hill MSS.)

(6) —— Wogan, the wife of William Davids, Registrar. (George Owen MSS.)

(7) Ann Wogan, the wife of William Adams.

(8) Cecilia Wogan, who, according to Lewis Dunn, married the Rev. Rowland Lloyd, of Fletherston.

John Wogan, the eldest son, who was afterwards raised to the dignity of Knighthood, succeeded to the estates. He was, as I have pointed out, sheriff for the county of Pembroke in 1606, and he also filled that office in 1630. He was twice married—a fact which seems to have escaped the notice of most genealogists. His first wife was Frances Pollard, the daughter of Lewis Pollard of Kingsnympton, in the county of Devon. From this union there were the following children:—

(1) Maurice Wogan.

(2) John Wogan.

(3) Peter Wogan, who, according to a deed recited in the *post mortem* inquisition on the property of his father, lived at Carew in Pembrokeshire. He was educated for the Bar, and the Registers at Gray's Inn show that he

[1] ? Lochturfin, Pembrokeshire.

was admitted to that institution on 21st May 1617.

(4) Ellen Wogan, who married John Voyle, of Haverfordwest.

(5) Maud Wogan (Lewis Dunn).

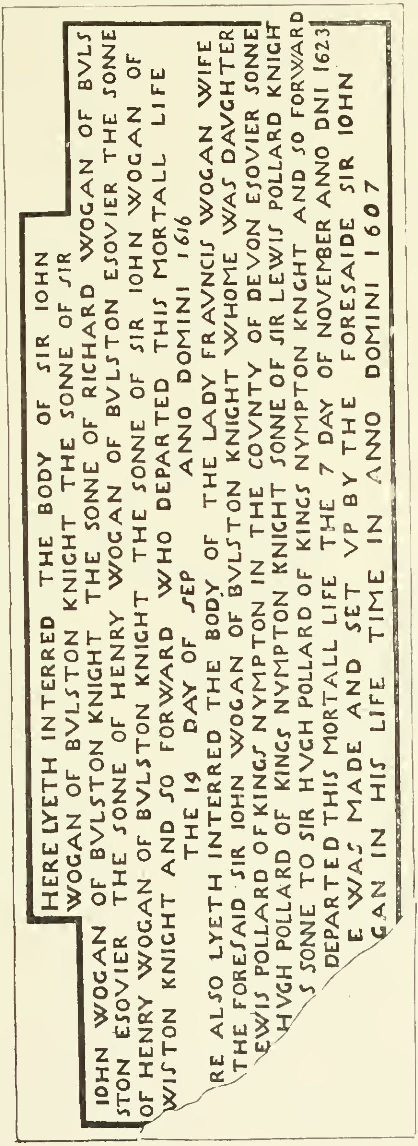
(6) Elizabeth Wogan (Lewis Dunn).

(7) Jane Wogan, the wife of William Jones. (Tucker MS.)

After the death of his wife, Lady Frances, on 7th Nov. 1623, Sir John once more essayed matrimony. I have not been able to find anything to throw any light on the lady's identity except that her name was Margaret. The fact, however, that the trustees of the property set aside for her maintenance were John Gunning, an alderman of Bristol, and John Bush, a gentleman of the same place, suggests that she was probably a daughter or relative of one of them, or, at all events, that she was from that city. The only child of this marriage appears to have been a daughter, Frances, of whose after life nothing more is heard. These facts are gathered from the recital of an indenture, dated 26th Nov. 1632, in the *post mortem* inquisition held on the property of Sir John. In this deed Sir John assigns to the John Gunning and John Bush referred to, and to Peter Wogan of Carew, Sir John's son, one messuage called Neshooke in the parish of Lambton, upon trust after Sir John's death, for his wife Lady Margaret, so as to provide her with a maintenance suitable for her condition, with remainder to their daughter Frances Wogan and her children, and in default of such issue, in trust for Peter Wogan and his heirs in tail. This was not the only provision made for Lady Margaret by her husband. It appears that in the following year, on the 16th Oct. 1633, Sir John purchased from John Voyle, gent., William Voyle, his son and heir apparent,

and Maurice Canon, all of Haverfordwest, a capital messuage in Franklaston, *alias* Frankeleston, in the parish of Penally, for £40. This property was conveyed subject to a life interest for Sir John, to Lady Margaret for life, and after her decease to their daughter Frances and her heirs in tail male, and in default of such issue to Maurice Wogan and his heirs in tail, with remainder to the right heirs of Sir John Wogan.

In the inquisition referred to Sir John is stated to have died on 14th Sept. 1636, but this does not agree with the date given on the memorial stone in Boulston church. This stone, of which a drawing is given, covers a tomb which has the Wogan coat of arms at the head, and lies on the north side of the chancel. The inscription is distinctly interesting, as



Wogan Tombstone at Boulston Church.
From a Drawing by F. Green.

it records no fewer than six generations of the family, and although one corner of the stone has been broken off, the missing words can be easily surmised. The inscription, on account of its length and the similarity of its wording, has been erroneously copied both by "E. L." and Fenton. The former, in a note, says that Henry Wogan, the husband of Elizabeth Bowen, is omitted on the monument, and Fenton not only falls into the same error but entirely omits the last two lines, stating that the stone was erected by Sir John in his lifetime in 1607. The latter authority also makes the date of Sir John's death to have been in "Feb. 16 . . ," but the proper reading is undoubtedly "Sep. 1616." It will be observed that the two final figures in question appear closer together in the sketch than the others of the group, and I am informed by Captain Reid, who now resides at Boulston and checked the figures for me, that the last two are clearly "16" but that there is no paint in them. The explanation of the discrepancy is no doubt that the two final figures were filled in some years after Sir John's death, when the workman, either through carelessness or ignorance, cut "16" instead of "36".

Sir John owned a very considerable property at his death—a property which was enlarged by his successor Maurice. The inquisition to enquire into his estate was held on the 9th Jan. 1637, at Haverfordwest Castle, before Sir Thomas Canon, knight; Hugh Owen, armiger; John Laugharne, armiger; Maurice Canon, gent., and David Morgan, gent.; and among the jurors were the following well-known names in Pembrokeshire: Thomas Hayward of Rudbaxton, John Tasker of St. Dogmells, William Tankard of Camros, John Jones of Brawdy, Llew' Harry of Tregwynt, John Tasker of Rudbaxton, and John Child of Frestropp. His possessions were as follows:—

	£	s.	d.
(*a*) One message called Milton, including one carucate of land and a water corn-mill held of the lordship of Burton by knight's service	4	0	0
One message called Crabholl and Winterton, in the occupation of Jane Waters, widow, held of the heir of Philberche by knight's service and an annual rent of 16*d*.	3	0	0
Seven messuages called Frogholl, in the parish of Spittle, in the occupations of Thomas Stevens, John Stevens, John Foxe, Matthew ap Jevan, Thomas Perceivall and William Price, held by knight's service of the Bishop of St. David's under his barony of Llawhaden	3	0	0
One message and one-third of another message in Rippeston, in the parish of St. Brides, in the occupation of John Martlett, held by knight's service of the King's Manor of Castle Wallivin	2	0	0
(*b*) Half of another message in Rippeston, in the occupation of John Corke, and a rent of 9*s*. per annum from all the lands of the said John Wogan, knight, in Rippeston, called "Colme rent"	2	0	8
An annual rent of 9*s*. from one message in Hill Street, Haverfordwest, in the occupation of John Ryney, held by free socage under the King's lordship of Haverfordwest ..		12	0
(*c*) The rectory of Boulston, held *in capite* by knight's service	2	10	0
(*d*) The manor of Boulston and two tenements in Hampton, and five carucates of land and a water corn-mill at Hampton, held by knight's service and a yearly rent of 1*d*., of Richard Phillipps as of his manor of Picton ..	8	0	0
(*e*) Two messuages and one carucate of land in Croselly, held by knight's service of the lordship of Jeffreston		16	8
(*f*) One message and half a carucate of land in Williamston, held by knight's service and an annual rent of 4*s*., of the King's Barony of Carewe	1	0	0
One message and two bovates of land in Bothorne, held by knight's service, of the heirs of Philbeche		16	0

	£	s.	d.
Four acres of land in Yelbloke, held by knight's services of the Lord of Picton, and a free rent of 1*s.* 1*d.*		1	0
One messuage and one carucate of land in Drenehill, held by knight's service, of the manor of Great Pulla	1	13	4
Twelve burgages in the town of St. David's held in socage of the Bishop of St. David's ..	1	4	0
The manor of Treglemes and one carucate of land and one corn-mill in Treglemes and Carnevaure, held by knight's service and suit at the Court of the Bishop of St. David's	1	0	0
One bovate of land in Trefllyne and Solvach, held by socage service of the Bishop of St. David's		1	10
Four acres of land in Lloythred, held in socage of the Court of Erwgelly		1	8
One and a half acres of land in the town of St. David's, held in free socage and a rent of 4*d.* per annum of the Chancellor of St. David's ..		2	0
One acre of land in Caredway, held by knight's service and a rent of 1*d.* per annum of the Church of St. David's		1	0
Five acres of land in Cared, held by knight's service and an annual rent of 1*d.* of the manor and lordship of Cared		4	2
Five acres of land at Trefmanhier, held by knight's service and an annual rent of 1*d.* of Thomas ap Rees, armiger, as of his manor of Richardston		3	4
Half a carucate of land in Bronghellys, held of John Barlow by knight's service as of his Court of Bronghellys		6	8
Seven acres of land in Crankerbin, held by knight's service of the lordship and manor of Llandonoke		6	0
Two bovates of land in Trefiny, *alias* Tregwy, held of Thomas Canon, knight, by knight's service, as of his manor of Trevoughlydd ...		7	8
Six messuages and three carucates of land in Williamston in Rous, held by knight's service of the King's lordship and manor of Castle Wallwyn	6	18	0

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Three carucates and five bovates of land in Sutton, in parish of Lambston, as to the tenure of which the jurors were ignorant ..	4	3	4
One messuage and one bovate of land in Camros, held of the King's manor of Camros by knight's service and an annual rent of 8*d*. ...		5	0
Three burgages in Dale, held in socage of the Lord de Vale			3
One messuage and one carucate of land in Wolfes Dale, held of Morgan Bowen as of his manor of Wolfes Dale, by knight's service and a free rent of 4*d*. per annum ...		19	8
One third of a carucate of land in Le Hill, held of Richard Newport, knight, by socage service and an annual rent of 1*d*.			8
Two messuages and two carucates of land in Boulston, held of Richard Phillipps of Picton, as of his manor of Picton, by knight's service and a free rent of 1*d*. per annum	1	10	0
Three parts of one bovate of land in Llanelwy, held in socage of the Bishop of St. David's ..		1	1
One acre of land near Measur Long, held in socage of the Bishop of St. David's ..		2	0
Two parts of one bovate of land in Trefraneth, held in socage of the Bishop of St. David's ..		3	0
(*g*) One messuage called Neshooke, in the parish of Lambton		6	8
One capital messuage in Frankleston, *alias* Frankeleston, in the parish of Penally, held of the King's manor of Manorbeer and Longston by knight's service and suit at the Court of the Barony there		6	7
(*h*) One messuage and 4½ bovates of land at the Hill, in the parish of Dale, held by knight's service of the King's manor of St. Thomas ..		6	0
One messuage and divers parcels of land called Carfield, Crowread, Calvynes Parcke, Milhill, 4 acres called Calhynesparke, and one fulling mill, in the several tenures of Richard Howell, Jane Walter, widow, John Barlowe and Henry Bowen, in the parish of St Martin; also a rent of 12*s*. 4*d*. from two parcels of land of Sir Thomas Canon, knight, in Carfield,			

	£	s.	d.
held by free and common service of the King's lordship of Haverfordwest	1	5	0
Four messuages in the town and county of Haverfordwest, in the parish of St. Mary, in the several occupations of Thomas Hayward, John Barlow, Griffith Rees and Alban Leonard, and certain gardens there in the occupation of Arnold Jones; also a rent of 12*d.* per annum from a messuage of the said Sir Thomas Canon, knt., in Ship Street, Haverfordwest, and a rent of 3/- per annum from a messuage of Jenkin Howell in St. Mary's Ward; three messuages in the town of Haverfordwest, occupied by Walter Webbe, William Williams and Arnold Thomas; a rent of 9/- from a messuage of Thomas Rymey in High Street, Haverfordwest; all held in free and common socage of the King's lordship of Haverfordwest	2	0	0

The properties under the sub-head of "*a*" were, by an indenture dated 10th Nov. 1603, being the marriage settlement of Maurice Wogan (son of Sir John) with Frances, daughter of Sir Hugh Owen of Bodeon, Anglesey, and Orielton, Pembrokeshire, conveyed by Sir John and Frances his wife to the said Sir Hugh Owen, upon the following trusts: for Maurice and his wife for life and their first and other sons successively in tail; in default of such issue, for John, the second son of Sir John Wogan and his sons in tail, and should he have no sons then for his youngest brother Peter in like manner. Subject to a life estate for Sir John, the properties under the head "*b*" were to be held on practically the same trusts as those under "*a*". As to those under "*d*" Maurice took a life interest subject to Sir John's life interest, otherwise the trusts were the same, except that Maurice's wife took no benefit. It was specially stipulated, however, that the capital messuage of Boulston and the lands in Hampton and Norchard, the house and closes of Milston, and the manor

of Williamston in the parish of Harriston West, should be held by Lady Frances Wogan during the life of her son Maurice.

The properties under "*g*" were, as I have already mentioned, settled on Sir John's second wife. As regards the remainder of the lands of Sir John, previously settled as a jointure for his wife, they were to be held in trust for Sir John for life, and subject to his wife's life estate upon the trusts in regard to "*a*." Other property not so settled was to be upon the trust in regard to "*d*". On 11th Sept. 1609, a fine was levied, when William Wogan, knt., and John Owen, esq., were plaintiffs, and Sir John Wogan, knt., Frances his wife, and Maurice Wogan their son, described as of Williamston, defendants. Under it the following lands were re-conveyed to the custom of frank-pledge:—

Manors, lands and tenements in Roos, Sutton and Treclemes, 120 messuages, 24 tofts, 3 water mills, 1 fulling mill, 3 dovecotes, 43 orchards, 80 gardens, 2700 acres of land, 280 acres of meadow, 1,200 acres of pasturage, 240 acres of wood, 2,340 acres of gorse and heath, 100 acres of marsh, the Rectory of Boulston and 6/8 rent, with property in Sutton, Williamston Elmer, Hardstonwest, Carewe, Robbeston, St. Brides, Drynehill, Camros, Woodhall, Redberston, Yeldbleete, Boulston, Norchard, Rowston, Lampeter, Rotham, Marlos, Hill, Dale, Frogholl, Spitte, Milton, Croyshelly, Jeffreston, Cosheston, St. David's, Menevy, Llathdy, Trevinyard, Ewer-y-Koed, Whitechurch Salvaugh, Tremainhir, Kinheried, Tregwy, Llanhowell, Cradway, Trevyne, Llanrian, Carnevawr, Trevrayneth, Llandeloy, Kerbytt, Prestarawe, Treffwycke, Asklethe Manor, or Trenewydd, Treiva, Lloythredy, and also the property held by frank-pledge in Williamston, Sutton and Treclemish.

To meet the requirements of the law £40 in silver was paid by the plaintiffs to the defendants.

At the time that the inquisition was held, Sir John's wife, Lady Margaret, and her daughter Frances, as well as Maurice Wogan and his wife, were residing at Boulston. Maurice is stated to have been fifty-three years of age when his father died, so he must have been born in 1583.

His marriage with Frances Owen doubtless took place about the year 1603, just when he was attaining his majority. He does not appear to have held any public office—a fact which is no doubt due to his having only survived his father by three years. His death occurred on 2nd April 1640.

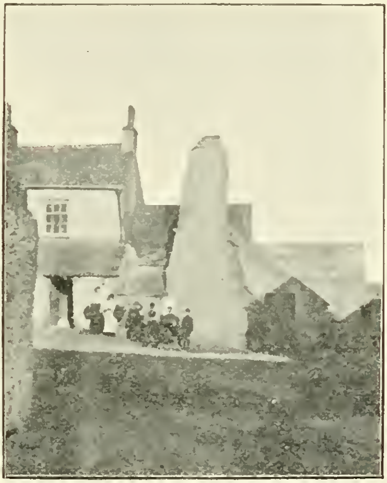
According to the inquisition taken on his death he appears to have owned all the property held by his father, except the portions under the head of "*g*", and in addition the following:—

	s.	*d.*
One tenement and a half carucate of land in Thurston held of the Lordship of Burton by knight's service, the annual value being	6	8
One bovate of land in Trefdyn, held in socage service of the Bishop of St. David's	2	6
One tenement and one carucate of land in Burton. held of that lordship by knight's service, the annual value being	10	0
One tenement and four acres in Milford, held of the lordship of Burton by knight's service, the clear annual value being	1	0
One tenement and one carucate of land called Prontshill, held of the lordship of Burton by knight's service, the clear annual value being ..	10	0
One messuage in Williamston Erven, held of the King's Barony of Carew by knight's service, the clear annual value being	10	0
One messuage and two bovates of land and one ruined house and one parcel of waste land, held of the Lord of Dale in free socage, the clear annual value being	2	6
One messuage and one garden at Cosheston held of the King's manor of Cosheston by knight's service, the clear annual value being	2	6
One parcel of land called Dumlinhayes, five acres formerly common situated in a certain close of Richard Philipps, Bart., called "Fursey-close" in the parish of Usmeston, held of Richard Philipps, Bart., by knight's service, the clear annual value being	1	0

d.

One parcel of meadow land called "Vogen's Meadow," adjoining the tenement called "Hooke" in the parish of Rudbaxton, containing one jongam of land, held of the King's manor of Fletherhill by knight's service, the clear annual value being 2

The *post mortem* inquisition held after his death states that Maurice Wogan left by his will, dated 18th March 1638, an annuity of £10 to his brother Peter, who was in good health at the time that the inquisition was held. How long Frances, the widow of Maurice, resided at Boulston after her husband's death it is impossible to say. At the time of her death she lived at Philbeach,[1] now an ordinary farm house, the only old portion being a curious round chimney, shown in the illustration. The exact date of her decease is unknown, but her nuncupative will, under which her grandson, Lewis Wogan, was appointed residuary legatee, was proved in May 1659. The children of Maurice and Frances Wogan were :—



OLD CHIMNEY AT PHILBEACH.
From a Photo. by F. Green.

(1) John Wogan, who died in 1613. (Lewis Dunn.)

(2) Abraham Wogan, who succeeded to the property.

(3) Sybil Wogan, who married Rees Bowen, of Upton. (Dale MSS.)

[1] In Marloes parish.

There are very few particulars available as to Abraham, and although he lived in the troublous times of the Civil War between King and Parliament, he appears to have taken no prominent part on either side. Practically, all that is known of him is that he was Sheriff for Pembrokeshire in 1648, and in 1651 there was an order from the Compounding Committee instructing him to pay over £35 he had received as High Sheriff from John Bowen, for a debt of William Phillips. Abraham married Jane, the daughter of Sir Lewis Mansel of Margam. The date of his death is also uncertain, owing to the Registers at Boulston Church not going back to this period, and the memorial stone which records that he was buried at that church omits this detail. He must, however, have died prior to Jan. 1652, as his nuncupative will is proved on that date. His widow Jane survived some four years, as her will is proved in 1655. The issue of Abraham and Jane was:—

Lewis Wogan, who must have been a minor at the time of his mother's death, as she appointed Mrs. Katherine Nott to be his guardian.

Lewis is the only offspring of Abraham of whom I have been able to find indisputable proof, but I am inclined to believe that there was another son, James, as in a fine levied in 1653, a James Wogan and his wife Jane acknowledge the right of Jane Wogan, widow—evidently Jane the widow of Abraham—to the moiety of two messuages and 130 acres of land in Good Hooke. Now, a James Wogan of Good Hooke[1]—presumably the same person—died prior to 1684, as in that year administration of his effects was granted to his wife Ann. There must, therefore, be a mistake in the name of his wife or else he must have been twice married. The inventory of his goods

[1] In the parish of Uzmaston.

shows that the value of live stock at this period must have been very low, even allowing for the fact that it was made for probate purposes. Fourteen cows and a calf are set down at only £16 8s.; four oxen at £6 10s.; four horses, three mares and three colts at £10 2s., and nine pigs at 36s.

Lewis Wogan, who succeeded to the Boulston estate, was Sheriff for Pembrokeshire in 1672, and was probably Mayor of Haverfordwest in 1680; I say probably, as no address is given in the list, and his kinsman of the same name at Wiston was his contemporary. Lewis married Katherine Phillips of the Priory, Cardigan. She was the daughter and heiress of James Phillips and his second wife, Catherine, daughter of John Fowler, a London merchant. The mother of Catherine Wogan was a celebrated authoress in her day, who wrote under the name of "Orinda". One of her works was entitled, *Letters from Orinda to Poliarchus*, the latter being a pseudonym for her friend Sir Charles Cotterell. She was, it is stated, particularly courted in the higher circles of society, and when visiting Ireland, to look after her husband's affairs, she received much attention from the Duke of Ormond.

Lewis Wogan died on the 25th March 1702, but although his wife presented him with no fewer than fifteen children, only one daughter apparently survived him. I fortunately came across Katherine Phillips' Bible—a fine old book bound in velvet with silver mountings. It is dated MDCXXX, and on the title page is the following:—"Imprinted at London by Robert Barker, Printer to the King's most excellent Maiestie; and by the assignees of John Bill." The owner had made entries of the births in the family, of which this is a copy:—

At Boulston.

Katherine Wogan was borne ye 6th of September 1672, being Fryday betwixt 4 & 5 of clock in the afternoon.

Edward Wogan was borne the 26th of March 1674, about 8 of clock in the morning, on a Thursday.

Jane Wogan was borne the 22nd of March 1674-5, on Sunday, between ten and eleaven of clock at night.

Elizabeth Wogan was borne the 24th of Aprill 1676, being Munday, betwixt three and 4 of clock in the morning.

Anne Wogan was borne the 23rd of May 1677, being Wednesday, about five of the clock in the afternoon.

Francis Wogan was borne the 23rd of July 1678, being Tuesday, betwixt eight and nine of the clock at night.

Lewis Wogan ye younger was borne November the 5th 1679, about two a clocke in the afternoon.

Still borne.

Arabella Wogan was borne of a Wednesday, the 22nd of February 1681-82, about eight of the clocke at night.

Hector Wogan was borne the 15th of May 1683, of a Tuesday, between eight and nine in the morning.

Abraham Wogan was borne the 27th of March, about three a clocke in the morning, on a Friday, 1685.

James Wogan was borne March the 8th 1686-7, about two of clocke in the afternoone, on a Tuesday.

Lewis Wogan the youngeer was borne Aprill the 19th, on a Thursday, between seaven and eight a clocke at night, 1688.

Katherine Wogan was borne the 29th of August 1689, on a Thursday, a little after one of clocke in the morning.

Lewis Wogan was borne the 6th of March 1690-91, on a Fryday, neere eleaven a clocke at night.

Philippa Wogan was borne the 17th day of May 1699, being on Ascension Thursday, in the morning between six and 7 a clocke.

Each of the above entries are separated from the other by a line, and underneath are the following :—

One son dead born, February the 13th 1700, at St. Brides.

Rowland Laugharne was born at St. Brides the 15th of April, of a Tuseday, between five and six in the morning, 1701.

I believe that the two last entries record the births of the children of Anne Wogan, the daughter of Lewis, who married John Laugharne of St. Brides.

On the first fly-leaf of the Bible, written in ink, are the initials "K.P." and underneath, "Katherine Wogan, her Bible." On the next page, just above the birth entries is, "Katherine Philips was borne ye 13th Aprill 1656, being

Sunday morning, betwixt 4 & 5 of clock at ye Priory of Cardigan"—evidently the record of Mrs. Katherine Wogan's birth. With the exception of Anne, Edward Wogan appears to have been the only child who reached his majority. He was educated for the Bar, and was admitted to Gray's Inn on the 27th June 1694. According to the Tucker MSS. he married Mary, the daughter of Sir Hugh Owen of Orielton, but in that event he can have left no issue, as Lewis Wogan by his will bequeathed practically

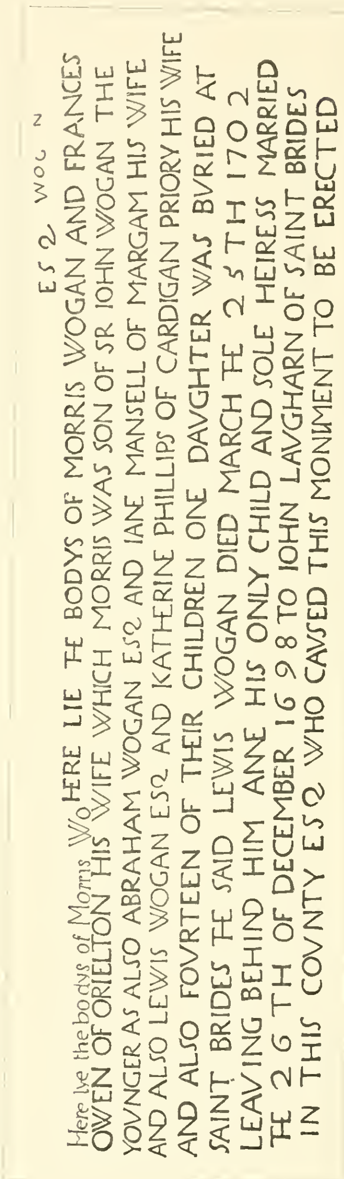
THE FOVR GREAT GRANDFATHERS
AND
THE FOVR GREAT GRANDMOTHERS
OF LEWIS WOGAN OF BOVLSTON ESQR
WERE AS FOLLOWETH
SIR IOHN WOGAN OF BOVLSTON PEN
FRANCES POLLARD OF KINGSNIMPTON DEVON
SIR HVGH OWEN OF BODEON ANG
ELIZABETH WYRRIOT OF ORIELTON PEM
SIR THOMAS MANSELL OF MARGAM IN GLASHIRE
MARY MORDAVNT OF TVRVEY BED
SIR EDWARD LEWIS OF THE VAN GLA
BLANCH MORGAN OF TREDEGAR MON

THIS STONE WAS DVG OVT OF
HAMPTON QVARRY 9R ye 10 1701
THE ABOVESAID LEWIS WOGAN OBT

Inscription at Boulston Church.
From a Drawing by F. Green.

all his property to his daughter Anne and her husband John Laugharne, for their lives, with remainder to their heirs in tail. In default of such issue, the property was to go to John Wogan of Gawdy Hall in Norfolk, for life, with remainder to his sons in tail, and on failure of such issue, to Sir William Wogan of Gray's Inn—one of the Llanstinan Wogans; next, to Thomas Wogan of Treslannog, in the parish of Mathry, in the same way; then to Lewis Wogan of Wiston, and finally to James Wogan of Wiston.

Lewis Wogan, like his great-grandfather, did his share towards setting on record the genealogy of the family. In the little church of Boulston, which stands on the bank of the river a few hundred paces west of the old manor house, is a memorial stone erected by him in his lifetime, on which are given the names of his eight great grand-parents (see illustration p. 137). This stone is on the south wall of the chancel, and underneath is the tomb of Maurice, or as he is there described "Morris" Wogan and several of his descendants, covered by a slab with an inscription erected by Anne, the sole heiress of Lewis Wogan. It will be observed that in the illustration of the inscription to Morris the first few words have been duplicated. Presumably the sculptor commenced with the smaller lettering but afterwards de-



Inscription at Boulston Church.
From a Drawing by F. Green.



Old Manor House, Boulston—West End.

From a Photo. by F. Green in 1901.



Boulston Church.

From a Photo. by F. Green in 1901.

To face p. 139.

cided to use a larger size. The word "Esq." over the first line is evidently an afterthought, either of the original artist or of some irresponsible person, who apparently had some idea of making the inscription read "Morris Wogan, Esq., and Frances Wogan *alias* Owen".

Boulston church, as will be seen from the illustration, which shews the north side of the edifice, is a very plain structure and is badly in need of repair. It was last restored in 1813 by Col. Ackland, but it is now many years since services have been held there. It contains twelve pews, four of which are marked "free". The others bear the names of the different residences in the parish. Four are appropriated to Boulston mansion and farm, and one each to "Hanton", "Norchard" and "Rose in Green". In the north pillar of the arch dividing the nave from the chancel is a fireplace.[1]

Anne Wogan married John Laugharne of St. Brides, the grandson of Rowland Laugharne, the Parliamentary Major-General, on the 26th December 1698, and she erected the tombstone to her father in Boulston church represented in the illustration. It is interesting to note that Lewis Wogan by his will bequeathed to the minister of Boulston church the tithes of Boulston. Unless the two entries in the Wogan Bible, to which I have referred, relate to the children of Anne and John Laugharne, there could have been no issue from the marriage; in any event none survived the mother, as by her will she somewhat unnecessarily bequeathed all her property (except those lands purchased by her father in Haskard and her husband's property), to John Wogan of Gawdy Hall for his life, with remainder to his sons in tail.

[1] Since the above was in type Boulston church has once more been repaired, and re-opened for public services, after an interval of nineteen years.

Her will was proved in 1715. The exact relationship of Anne Laugharne to John Wogan of Gawdy Hall, who came into the estate, I have been unable to ascertain. In the draft of a case for counsel in regard to the title of the farm of Glandovern in Kilgerran, he is described as the cousin of Anne Laugharne, but the term "cousin" is somewhat elastic in Wales. If he had been a first cousin he would have been a brother of Lewis Wogan, yet Lewis in his will describes him as "my kinsman". It may have been that he was the son of Maurice Wogan, but on the other hand I have found no evidence of Maurice having any other children than the three mentioned above. The most probable theory is that he was either the son of John, the second brother of Maurice, or else he was John, the son of Rees Wogan of Llanstinan, and therefore the grandson of Sir John Wogan of Boulston and Jane the daughter of Richard Wogan of Wiston. However this may have been, it is evident that the owner of Gawdy Hall was most closely allied to the possessor of Boulston, as in the order of succession in Lewis's will the Llanstinan branch, which was more nearly related, was preferred to those of Wiston.

At first sight it appears strange that a Pembrokeshire scion should suddenly appear as the owner of a considerable estate in Norfolk, but the explanation is simple. It was merely that a Welshman adopted the old Norman principle in Wales and married a Norfolk heiress. Gawdy Hall had long been in the possession of the Gawdys. According to Blomefield's *Topographical History of Norfolk*, published in 1806, the estate was held in 1633 by Sir Thomas Gawdie, knight, and it was mortgaged by Charles Gawdie to Tobias Frere, who afterwards purchased it. There is little doubt that in the main this account is correct.

Through the courtesy of Mr. John Sancroft Holmes, the present owner of Gawdy Hall and a lineal descendant

of the Wogans of Boulston, I was allowed access to his old records and rolls of the manors which belonged to Sir Thomas Gawdy and afterwards to Tobias Frere. From them I ascertained that the last mention of a Gawdy as Lord of Redenhall Manor was in 1649, at which date Tobias Frere was Steward. It is stated in *Redenhall Parish Accounts* by Mr. Candler of Harleston, that this Tobias Frere was an attorney of good means. In 1654 he was a J.P., Sequestrator and M.P. for Norfolk. He died in 1655, leaving a widow Susanna, and a son Tobias. In 1649 Frere is mentioned as Steward of Hawker's Manor, and from 1666 to 1672 Sarah Frere was Lady of that manor, and John Wogan's first Court was held in 1672.

In 1656 there is an entry in the rolls of Witchington of the admission of Tobias Frere, junior, to the copyhold lands held by his father of that manor, which the latter had inherited from his brother Richard Frere. Tobias Frere, junior, married Sarah Longe, the daughter, according to Burke's *History of Commoners*, of Robert Longe of Foulden, who was Sheriff of Norfolk in 1644. From this marriage there were two children, a son Tobias, and a daughter Elizabeth, both of whom died in childhood. Their father died in Oct. 1666, and their mother, who appears to have come in for the property, subsequently married John Wogan, the "kinsman" of Lewis Wogan of Boulston. The marriage was by license, which is dated 31 Dec. 1667, and this document shows that the bride and bridegroom were then resident in Covent Garden, London. The license authorised the ceremony to take place either in St. Dunstan's in the West or St. Clement's le Danes in the Strand, and it states that Mrs. Sarah Frere was a widow of about 28 years of age. John Wogan is described as a bachelor of about 35, and it is therefore evident that he could not have been the brother of Maurice Wogan of

Boulston, though he might have been his nephew. The Rolls of Hawker's Manor confirm this descent, for they show that in 1656 Susanna Frere was Lady of the Manor; in 1657 her son, Tobias, was Lord, and in 1666 his wife Sarah was Lady. From the union with Sarah Frere John Wogan had two children:—

(1) John Wogan, who was baptised at Redenhall church in 1668.

(2) Walter Wogan.

Whether the Freres ever owned the Manor of Redenhall seems questionable. A Court was held in 1659 by Robert Bransby the Steward, under Letters Patent from William Gawdy, "late lord of the manor", but from 1660 until 1664 James Hobart is mentioned as the Lord, and it was not till 1678 that John Wogan figured in that position. Presumably William Gawdy sold the Manor to Hobart, who in turn resold, in 1664, either to the Freres or to John Wogan himself. Mrs. Sarah Wogan died in 1684, and was buried at Redenhall. Her husband survived until about 1707, in which year his will was proved. John, the eldest son, was brought up to the Bar and was admitted to Gray's Inn on 11th Feb. 1686. He married in 1706 Elizabeth Sancroft, the niece of the celebrated Archbishop of Canterbury of that name, and it appears from the will of his father that provision was made for him and his brother Walter in the settlement made on that occasion. It is interesting to note that under the will it was provided that in the event of neither of the brothers having children, the manors of Hawker, Redenhall, Holbrooke, Coldham, as well as Gawdy Hall, and other lands in Norfolk, would have gone to the heirs male of Walter Cuny of Pembroke. This Walter Cuny was a relative of the Wogans of Gawdy Hall—although in what degree I have been unable to discover—as John Wogan, the second of that name at Gawdy

Hall, describes Richard Cuny of Pembroke, no doubt the son of Walter, as his "trusty friend and kinsman", and appointed him trustee of the estates in Pembrokeshire until his son John Wogan came of age. Elizabeth Sancroft died in 1755, having survived her husband John Wogan by several years. Their children were:—

(1) John Wogan, who was baptized in 1713, and succeeded to the property.

(2) Sarah Wogan, who was baptized in 1729, and married the Rev. Gervas Holmes, vicar of Fressingfield in Suffolk.

(3) Elizabeth Wogan, who died unmarried in 1728, at the age of 18.

Under the will of their father, Sarah and Elizabeth were each left £1000 and lands in Fressingfield and Cratfield, while Walter, the testator's brother, was given £10. Walter Wogan must, therefore, have been alive at this date, but this is the last mention I have found of him.

John Wogan, the third of Gawdy Hall, married his cousin Elizabeth, the daughter of William Sancroft of Suffolk, and Catherine, the daughter of Sir John Hynde Cotton, of Madingley, Cambridge, Receiver for that town. She was ultimately the sole heiress of Francis Sancroft, the grand-nephew of the Archbishop. The marriage took place at Gray's Inn Chapel in 1735, to which Inn the bridegroom had been admitted a member in February 1687. The issue of this marriage was two children—John and Elizabeth. The latter died unmarried in 1773. Her brother John was admitted to the Inner Temple as a student in April 1757, but there is no record of his ever having been called. He died a bachelor in 1763, in his father's lifetime, who was thus the last male Wogan of Boulston and Gawdy Hall. It was probably on this account that he resolved to sell the Pembrokeshire property. An attempt was made with this

view in 1773 by private contract, but, for reasons to which I will refer, it was several years before a sale could be effected, the eventual purchaser being Col. Robert Innes Ackland, who built the present mansion on the hill.

The particulars of sale which were prepared in the earlier year are distinctly interesting, as they show not only the acreage and value of the different lots, but also details of the outgoings on the property. The estate contained 4,750a. 2r. 27p., and the aggregate rents, exclusive of the collieries which were then being worked by the owner, and quit rents amounting to 34*s.* per annum, were £701 18*s.* 0*d.* This rental it was estimated could be raised, presumably on the expiration of the leases, to £1,445 10*s.* 0*d.* The difficulty in the way of sale was the appearance of a claimant for the property in the person of Elizabeth Warlow, a widow of about 65 years of age, who lived at Trefgarne in Pembrokeshire. Her maiden name was Pritchard, and a certain David Hughes, who had been inquiring into the matter, was of opinion that she was a niece of a Roger Pritchard to whom Mr. Wogan had given an annuity of £4. This lady claimed to be the heir at law of Mr. Wogan, presumably the father of the then owner, and by way of protecting her alleged rights published advertisements warning purchasers against paying over any money to the vendor. It is difficult to understand what claim she could have had, but she certainly frightened off buyers for the time. Mr. Hughes, for instance, says that her advertisements "damped the sale, and particularly to the Scotchman lately sent into this county to view the estate". In regard to John Wogan's estates in Redenhall and Wortwell in Norfolk, an old valuation taken in 1779, the year after his death, shows that the acreage was 764a. 2r. 35p., the annual rent being £562 2*s.* 0*d.* The timber on the property was valued about three years



OLD MANOR HOUSE, BOULSTON, IN 1901.

From a Photo. by Rev. W. B. Thomas.

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previously at over £10,000, exclusive of a large number of young ash and oak. Since that date, however, a portion of it had been cut down.

I have found no record showing when the old Manor House at Boulston was built. All that is left of it now are the few ruins shown in the illustrations. Standing close to the bank of the western arm of the river Cleddau—the high tides admit of small boats being brought right up to the walls—it is easy to realise that the owners in days gone by might be tempted to try and evade the gauger. Overgrown as the site is by trees and briars it is almost impossible to form any idea as to the different apartments. One or two vaults remain, and appearances indicate that the ground floor, if one may so describe it, stood over vaulted cellars. A good deal of the stone has been carried away and used probably for the erection of the present mansion by Colonel Ackland. The walls of the tower shown in the small illustration are three feet thick. The house would appear to have been one of the old castellated residences in Pembrokeshire which were capable of defence, and this seems the more likely as there are traces of a small moat to the north and east of the ruins. Fenton, in his *History of Pembrokeshire*, written in 1810, says that the Manor House had been uninhabited for one hundred and fifty years, but this is clearly an exaggeration, as the entries in the Wogan Bible show that the youngest of Lewis Wogan's children was born there in 1699. It is probable that it was after the death of Lewis Wogan that the house was deserted. Anne Laugharne, his daughter, seems never to have lived there after her marriage, and at the date of her death resided at St. Bride's.

John Wogan, the last of that name at Gawdy Hall, died on 31st May 1778, aged 65, and by his will directed all his estates to be sold and the proceeds invested. The

interest from the investments from the Norfolk property was, subject to Mrs. Wogan's life interest, allotted to his nephew Gervas Holmes and his children; and that from the personalty and from the other properties was bequeathed to the testator's widow during her widowhood, and after her death the principal, subject to £10,000 left to Gervas Holmes and his children and a legacy to the testator's sister-in-law Catherine Sancroft, was bequeathed to the children of Sir John Hynde Cotton. After the death of her husband, Mrs. Elizabeth Wogan lived at Wimpole Street in London. She died on 25th Jan. 1788, and by her will left all her real estate to the children of Sir John Hynde Cotton. By a codicil she directed £300 to be expended on a marble monument in Redenhall church to the memory of her husband and herself; and also left £100 to be invested, and the interest to be applied to keep the monument, and that of Archbishop Sancroft in the churchyard in Fressingfield, in repair. The monument in Redenhall church was duly erected and still stands in the Gawdy Chapel at Redenhall.

The Rev. Gervas Holmes, who married Sarah Wogan, died on 28th June 1776, aged 80, and his wife on the 17th May 1764, aged 55. Their son, the Rev. Gervas Holmes, who on the death of his uncle John Wogan came into Gawdy Hall, died in 1796. He married Rebecca Grimwood of Dedham, Essex, who died in 1817, aged 73. They had the following children:—

(1) John Holmes, who married Anne, the daughter of Rev. William Whitear of Ore, Sussex, and succeeded to Gawdy Hall on the death of his father.

(2) Rev. Gervas Holmes, the Rector of Copford, Essex.



GAWDY HALL, NORFOLK—FRONT VIEW.

From a Photo. by F. Green in 1901.



GAWDY HALL—SOUTH SIDE.

From a Photo. by F. Green in 1901.

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(3) Rebecca Holmes, who married Rev. William Whitear, Rector of Starston.

John Holmes, the eldest son, was vicar of Flixton, and died in 1831. His eldest son, William Sancroft Holmes, married in 1840 Hester Elizabeth Gilbert, youngest daughter of Mr. Davies Gilbert, President of the Royal Society and M.P., of Eastbourne and Tredrea in Cornwall. Mr. William Sancroft Holmes died in 1849, and was succeeded by his son Mr. John Sancroft Holmes, the present owner of Gawdy Hall. This gentleman was born in 1847, and in 1877 married Edith Kingscote, the youngest daughter of Mr. Henry Kingscote of Kingscote in Gloucestershire.

Some idea of the appearance of Gawdy Hall will be obtained from the illustrations. The house, which is Elizabethan in character, is in the shape of an "L". The structure was built of brick and subsequently covered with stucco, but it had suffered so much from the ravages of time that the present owner had it faced with new bricks. The wing to the right of the front door is, with slight exception, exactly as it originally stood, the mullion windows being about ten feet from the ground. The main portion of the house had at one time a much steeper roof, under which was another storey of apartments, but Mr. Gervas Holmes, the first owner of that name, finding the accommodation too large for his requirements, lowered the pitch when he reduced the size of the house. The porch is of recent date, but the coat of arms of the Wogans over the porch door is of the Wogan period. The date of the erection of Gawdy Hall is uncertain, but it is evident that the original Hall was built nearly 350 years ago. This is proved by an interesting old Black Letter work in Mr. Holmes's possession entitled, *Histories of the Worthy Chronographer, Polybius*, by Christopher Watson, published in

1568, and dedicated to Thomas Gawdy, Esq., in which the following statements on different pages appear:—"From my chamber in your house at Gawdy Hall"; "From Gawdy Hall in Norfolk."

The front door opens into a fine large hall originally floored with flag stones, but since replaced with oak. The west or garden front of the Hall is ascribed, as well as the panelling of the hall and other rooms, to the first John Wogan. To him also is assigned the alteration of the direction of the moat which bounds the flower garden at the west side of the house. It appears from an old map that at one period the moat existed on three sides of the Hall. When John Wogan came into possession he extended and altered it so as to give it the appearance of a river. On the wall of the house overlooking the garden is the coat of arms of Archbishop Sancroft, removed to the Hall when the old Harleston Chapel, which he restored, was taken down. Many years since, when the tapestry in the present billiard room was removed, a beautiful "Star" watch of the 17th century was found, the covers, inside and out, being engraved with biblical scenes, while the edges of the points of the star are decorated with engravings of wild animals.

One of the illustrations before referred to shows the front of Gawdy Hall, and the other the view from the stables. In the latter can be seen the two old chimneys which now have no connection with the heating arrangements of the house, but have been left standing as a relic of former days. They are quite plain in appearance, but Mr. Holmes believes that originally they had tall ornamented tops.

I have now traced the descent of the direct line of the Wogans of Boulston down to the present day, and I trust at not so great a length as to weary the readers of

Y Cymmrodor. Before concluding, however, I must tender my thanks to the Clergy both in England and Wales, and others, who have not only kindly assisted me with information, but have freely afforded me access to their records.

Reviews.

WALES. By Owen M. Edwards, Fellow of Lincoln College Oxford. (The Story of the Nations.) London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1901.

The rapidity with which the first edition of Mr. Owen Edwards's "Story of Wales" has been exhausted is evidence not only of the need of such a work but also of the singular charm and fascination of the narrative. Mr. Edwards brings to the task many qualities which are essential to success in such an undertaking. His knowledge of Welsh life, literature, and story is wide, if not profound; he has a keen eye for the picturesque and the dramatic; his style is at once lucid and graceful. He has woven into a connected and consistent drama the varying fortunes of the Cymry: for the first time he has shown how "the story of Wales" acted and re-acted upon the story of England. It is his special merit that he has made intelligible the obscure policy of the mediæval princes by reference to what was taking place in England. So sure is the touch, so attractive is the manner, so clear and condensed is the narrative, that the reader is carried on, in spite of himself, till the close of the stirring drama, before he begins to criticise the piece. It is only on a second perusal, when the novelty and charm of the literary workmanship have worn off, that its defects come to be noted, and if we dwell somewhat minutely upon them, it is, we hasten to add, in no captious spirit and with no grudging acknowledgment of the sterling merits of Mr. Edwards's work.

Perhaps the most conspicuous error into which Mr. Edwards has fallen is his perverse conception as to the hegemony of Gwynedd among the Cymric states. Mr. Edwards assumes that the sovereignty of Wales was invariably vested in the Princes of Snowdon, and that all resistance to their will was rank treason. It would, no doubt, have been well if Wales could have united under one strong and able dynasty; no doubt, as time went on, it came to be recognised that the Princes of Snowdon were securest from English attacks and could best guarantee the safety and independence of the other Welsh states. But the Princes of Gwynedd were not the sovereigns of Wales. Howel Dda, the last king of united Wales, was for the greatest period of his reign King of Dyved only. Llewelyn ab Seisyll, a nobleman of Gwent, though married to Angharad, the great-grand-daughter of Howel, had no real title to the Principality of Gwynedd, and it is absurd to speak of Howel ap Edwin as an "usurper" of the southern crown against Griffith ap Llewelyn (p. 41). Howel, in fact, had a better hereditary title to Glamorgan than Griffith had to Gwynedd. It is equally erroneous to speak of Bleddyn ap Cynvyn of Powys as an "usurping over-king" (p. 53), or of Meredith ap Rees, of South Wales, as "forsworn" (p. 172). Gwynedd was the strongest of the Welsh provinces. It was guarded by the great natural rampart of Snowdon; it was the furthest removed from the English; it was sustained and enriched by the fertile corn-lands of Anglesea. It produced, on the whole, the ablest line of Welsh princes, and it was therefore inevitably regarded, almost without a break, as the first of the Welsh states. But this was due to the accidental combination which we have indicated; it did not imply that a peculiar sanctity—as Mr. Edwards suggests—attached to the ruling dynasty of Gwynedd.

In describing, for instance, the Laws of Howel, Mr. Edwards says (p. 37):—

> "Most important was the king of Gwynedd, in his court at Aberffraw, *to him alone was gold paid as a fine for treason:* then came the king of South Wales in his court at Dynevor; then the king of Powys, in his court at Mathraval."

Mr. Edwards is reading into the Laws of Howel something which is not there, or which was added at a much later period than the 10th century. The Dimetian Code places the King of Dynevor exactly on an equality with the King of Aberffraw, and as for the fine for treason, it is expressly said

> "Ny thelir eur namyn yvrenhin Dineuur neu yvrehin Aberffraw."—(*Owen's Ancient Laws of Wales*, vol. i, p. 348.)

Dyved, in the days of Howel, and again in the days of the Lord Rhys, Powys in the days of Bleddyn, came to be regarded as the sovereign Welsh state. Exactly as in the days of the Heptarchy the supremacy changed from Northumbria to Mercia, or from Mercia to Wessex, so the Welsh states varied in relative importance and dignity from time to time. When Dyved was powerful we find its Prince building a castle on the Dovey, and even seizing Merioneth; when Gwynedd was triumphant it extended its sovereignty almost to the Teivy. If Griffith ap Cynan was "the sovereign and protector and peacemaker of all Wales", the Lord Rhys was "the head and the shield and the strength of the South and of all Wales" (p. 102).

This unfortunate provincial prejudice has, all unconsciously, vitiated Mr. Edwards's judgment in his estimate of the personal forces in Welsh history. "The Welsh lawgiver was not a great king; he was Howell, son of Cadell, and he ruled with his brother in Dyved" (p. 35). "Llewelyn (ab Seisyll) became king of Wales. He lived in Gwynedd, and had a well-organised army. His reign

was looked back to as a reign of peace and of wonderful prosperity" (p. 40). Howel reigned for forty years and died in peace. He left behind him the noblest monument of ancient Welsh civilisation. Llewelyn won his throne by the sword: he died by the sword (a fact glossed over on p. 41) after a troubled reign. Or take again Mr. Edwards's estimate of the two great allies and contemporaries—Griffith ap Cynan and Griffith ap Rhys. The latter, we are told, "was strong *on account of* his alliance with Griffith ap Cynan, whose daughter Gwenllian he had married" (p. 78). The Prince of South Wales was strong because he was one of the most consummate statesmen of his time, cautious in peace, and resolute in war. His alliance with Gwynedd added to his strength, as it did to the power of his father-in-law. It was twice blessed.

Similarly, this cardinal error has forced Mr. Edwards to take two entirely inconsistent views of the other Princes of Wales. Those who resisted the claims of Gwynedd were either right or wrong. Those who did so successfully, such as the Lord Rhys, are praised; those who failed, like Rhys ap Meredith, are called traitors. Thus Gwenwynwyn of Powys is at one time "tortuous" (p. 128), at another time "far-sighted" (p. 133). Again, Owen Goch, the eldest son of Griffith, and his brother Davydd—who had as good a claim to the crown of Gwynedd as Llewelyn—are said to have "revolted" against their brother (p. 160). In fact, they were only maintaining what appeared to themselves and their contemporaries, as well as to posterity, to be their hereditary rights.

Indeed, one of the greatest blots on Mr. Edwards's work is his comparative ignorance of the history, personalities, and topography of South Wales. To him the history of Gwynedd is the history of Wales. Dyved and Powys, Gwent and Morganwg, only become important as

and when they affect directly the fortunes of Gwynedd; the latter two are hardly ever mentioned, and their history is left in complete obscurity. The personalities of the various Rhyses, Maelgwns, and Merediths of the princely line of Dyved are so confused that it is impossible to read into the chaotic mass of details any meaning or order. Mr. Edwards himself does not seem to be clear as to the identity of the different princes. Maelgwn ap Rhys, for example, is represented (on p. 129) as having "fled from Aberystwyth" before Llewelyn ap Iorwerth, and as "anxious" to get Ceredigion and Ystrad Towy by the help of the English king, and in despite of the Welsh prince; on p. 140 he is described as the man whom Llewelyn "had always trusted and to whom he gave the most important castles of the south". No attempt has been made to show the relationship of the various members of the Houses of Powys, Dyved, and Glamorgan, though that relationship exercised great influence on contemporary Welsh politics and would explain much of the "tortuous" policy of Gwenwynwyn and the "treachery" of Rhys ap Meredith.

In his opening chapter Mr. Edwards emphasises perhaps with too pontifical a dogmatism the influence of geography on the history and development of a people. It was natural to expect therefore that Mr. Edwards would pay minute attention to the geography even of South Wales. This he has not done. Nothing could be more inaccurate than the description (on p. 7) of the "Vale of Towy, which lay beneath the southern Plinlimmon range, or the wavy lowlands of the Vale of Glamorgan, upon which the princes of the Black Mountains looked down." The princes of the Black Mountains looked down on the upper part of the Vale of Towy, but by no stretch of imagination can they be said to have looked down on the

Garden of Wales. Mr. Edwards, however, seems to think —which is only natural if one looks at Wales from the standpoint of a Northern Welshman—that Carmarthen is "the lower Plinlimmon range" (p. 14), while Gwent and Morganwg are "the Black Mountain district" (p. 15 and p. 17). It is quite erroneous to describe Llandovery as being "in the centre of the Vale" of Towy (p. 77), or to say that the castle of Llandovery is "lower down in the valley of the Towy" than Dynevor (p. 210). Dynevor is the centre, and Llandovery is twelve miles higher up the valley. On p. 233 Mr. Edwards couples "Caerphilly and Neath" together, as if they were not divided by nearly the whole breadth of Glamorgan. Henry Tudor did not "follow the Teivy" on his way to Bosworth from Milford, but passed along the sea-coast through Llanarth (p. 300). A graver inaccuracy is contained in the assertion that "Cardiganshire, with its definite geographical unity mirrored in the strongly-marked characteristics of its people, is the old Ceredigion" (p. 318). The old Ceredigion was something quite different from the modern county. To this day the people of South Cardigan—from the river Wyre near Llanon to the river Teivy—speak substantially the same dialect as is in use in Carmarthenshire north of the Towy. The people of North Cardiganshire not only speak a different dialect, but their origin has recently been traced from the Brythonic tribe which followed Cunedda from the North in the 5th century.

The hegemony of Gwynedd among the Welsh states was not finally recognised before the days of Llewelyn the Great. It is possible to feel all the admiration which Mr. Edwards expresses for the greatest of Welsh princes without being unfair to his ill-fated grandson, Llewelyn the Last. At one time Mr. Edwards is inclined to blame the last Prince for deliberately invoking the just wrath of the

English king by departing from his grandfather's safe and strong policy. Llewelyn ap Iorwerth is said, quite truly, to have striven for a united and semi-independent Wales, acknowledging the feudal suzerainty of England, but retaining a full measure of local and national independence, under the supremacy of Gwynedd. But "the policy of allegiance died with the childless Davydd: the idea of independence was transmitted by the unfortunate Griffith as an impossible task to his son Llewelyn" (p. 150). Yet we are told, a few pages later, that "Llewelyn (ap Griffith) and Edward (of England) may be said to have the same final aim—the subjection of chief and baron to the prince, who was to owe allegiance to the king of England. It was the ideal of Llewelyn the Great—the reconciliation of Welsh independence with British unity" (p. 160). Still later it is said that "Llewelyn's policy presupposed the independence of Wales" (p. 172): yet, after the disastrous peace of 1277, Mr. Edwards concludes that "Llewelyn was resigned to his lot. But peace, even in the fastnesses of Snowdon, or the sea-girt security of Môn was impossible" (p. 181). Truth to tell, Mr. Edwards's trick of generalising about the character and policy of a prince lands him in hopeless inconsistencies and contradictions. It may be doubted whether either of the two Llewelyns started with a clear and defined policy. That was not the custom of the age; certainly it was impossible for a Welsh prince who had to trim his sails to every shifting wind of policy. Llewelyn the Great moved cautiously. He was a wary diplomatist and a born soldier. He was fortunate in his age and his opponents. The Lord Rhys, his only rival in Wales, died when he was still young. King John, with a hostile baronage, an alienated Church, an oppressed people, and foreign enemies on English soil, was no match for the

resolute Welshman. The long minority and the weak character of Henry III made Llewelyn the most powerful vassal in the kingdom. Far different was the fate of his grandson. Llewelyn the Last displayed as much genius in war, and as much adroitness in diplomacy, as his grand-father had done. He won the throne of Gwynedd from powerful rivals while still in extreme youth. He used the civil dissensions which distracted England between 1257 and 1267 with consummate skill, and in spite of the disastrous defeat of his baronial allies at Evesham, peace left him almost as supreme in Wales as ever his grand-father had been. The settlement of 1267, which he concluded when he was in the heyday of his vigorous manhood and at the zenith of his power, showed that he had as true a conception of the place of Wales in the British economy, and as nice a judgment of what was possible for Wales to achieve, as ever his grand-father had. The last Prince should be judged by the 1267 settlement, when he was in a position to have a real voice in directing the destinies of the Principality. For ten more years he reigned in peace. But a stern and ambitious King had in 1272 succeeded to the English throne. Edward the First has been called "the greatest of the Plantaganets"; he was a master of the art of war, and he was besides a great constructive statesman. He was burning to avenge the humiliations which his father and he had undergone at the hands of the Welsh prince. His ambition was to bring the whole of Britain directly under the English Crown. He would leave no shred of independence either to Wales or to Scotland. He was in the prime of early manhood; Llewelyn was close upon fifty, already worn by twenty-five years of restless toil and the unsleeping anxieties of an insecure throne. The Welsh prince was under no delusion as to the result of a conflict with Edward. He tried

to stave off the evil day by making a humiliating peace in 1277. But, as Mr. Edwards points out, peace was impossible while the Welsh prince possessed a semblance of independence. Step by step Edward ruthlessly drove him to a hopeless war. The death of his wife Eleanor destroyed Llewelyn's last vestige of indecision. He determined to make one last desperate fight for freedom. He rose suddenly in 1282; he delivered a rapid succession of staggering blows to Edward's power. Mr. Edwards does scant justice to Llewelyn's heroic prowess in his last great struggle. The defeat and death of Luke de Tany—a reverse which disarranged all Edward's plans and caused him to remain for months inactive at Rhuddlan—is dismissed in a sentence, and the name of the fiery Lord Marcher is not even mentioned (p. 187). Gloucester and Mortimer are said to have defeated Griffith ap Meredith and Rhys ap Maelgwn at Llandilo, whereas in fact the southern Welsh gained a decisive victory over the enemy (p. 188). Nor is anything said of the marvellous way in which Llewelyn raised South Wales by the sheer magnetism of his personality, though the castles were in the hands of the English, and the chiefs were almost invariably hostile. When one reads the account given by Mr. J. E. Morris, in his *Welsh Wars of Edward I*, of Llewelyn's stupendous activity during the last few months of his life, of Edward's difficulties, and of Llewelyn's unbroken series of successes, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that but for his untoward death—which was the result of the merest accident—he might have still, in some measure, retrieved his fortunes, and preserved, at least in part, the independence of Gwynedd.

We cannot help feeling that Mr. Edwards would have written very differently of the Conquest of Wales if he had had the opportunity of reading Mr. Morris's careful

work. He would have known, for instance, that Criccieth and Harlech Castles were not built by Edward (p. 201), but were old Welsh castles which he enlarged and strengthened; and he would have known that the manœuvre at Conway, repeated shortly after at Orewin-bridge, and subsequently imitated by Edward at Falkirk, was due not to the Earl of Warwick but to John Giffard. He would have understood the true significance of Edward's visit to Glamorgan, and his arbitration between the Earls of Hereford and Gloucester (p. 209). He would also, we believe, have seen reason to temper some of his criticisms of the policy of the South Wales princes. It is absurd, for instance, to speak of Rhys ap Meredith as one "who had betrayed Llewelyn" (p. 207). In 1267 Meredith had been exempted from any obligation to do homage to Llewelyn (p. 171); in 1277 his son Rhys had risen with Llewelyn. The Prince of Gwynedd gave him no help; probably, as Mr. Edwards says, "no help was possible from Llewelyn" (p. 178). Rhys had to surrender, and his castles were garrisoned either by English troops or Welsh friendlies. It would be as correct to speak of Llewelyn "betraying" Rhys in 1277, as of Rhys "betraying" Llewelyn five years after. As a matter of fact, though Llewelyn in 1282 incorporated in his schedule of complaints against Edward charges of oppression in South Wales, Mr. Morris has shown that Llewelyn probably did so on his own initiative. Llewelyn rose in 1282 because of the oppression of the Perveddwlad, and without consultation with the princes of South Wales. The marvel is, not that he received so little but that he obtained so much support from South Wales. The most extraordinary phenomenon in Welsh history is the way in which the men of South Wales have always, irrespective of the wishes of their immediate chiefs, responded to the call of a national

leader, whether he was an upstart like Griffith ap Llewelyn, or princes of Gwynedd like Griffith ap Cynan and the two Llewelyns, or a simple squire like Owen Glendower.

It is also incredible, in view of the figures laboriously worked out by Mr. Morris, that Mr. Edwards's estimate of the strength of Llewelyn's army—30,000 footmen and 500 mail-clad horsemen—should be correct (p. 165). We greatly question if Llewelyn ever had to "keep in the field for weeks together" a fifth part of the number. "Skill in archery", says Mr. Edwards, "was universal in Wales" (p. 237). Mr. Morris has shown that the long-bow was the weapon of South Wales, and more especially of Gwent, and that the national weapon of North Wales was the spear. The long-bow "failed to preserve the independence of Wales" (p. 217), because the men of Gwent, who were its most skilful professors, fought with Edward against Llewelyn to the bitter end.

It would be unfair, perhaps, to blame Mr. Edwards for his inaccurate references to Owen of Wales, though his true story was unfolded several months before the publication of the book by Mr. Edward Owen in the *Transactions of the Cymmrodorion Society*. But there is no excuse for speaking of Davydd as "the last prince of Wales" (p. 192), or of Edmund Mortimer as "the next heir to the Welsh Crown" (p. 205), at a time when Owen Goch and Rhodri, Llewelyn's brothers, and his daughter Gwenllian (as Mr. Edwards mentions on p. 214), were alive.

Perhaps the most delightful part of Mr. Edwards's book is that which deals with the "Story of Wales" from the Conquest to Tudor times. He is at home in the period, and he does not therefore overload his narrative with dry and pointless detail. Few have written with such grace and knowledge, with such insight and charm of the twilight of the days of chivalry. His treatment of the reign

of Edward II will not commend itself to English historians, but it is none the less a striking and suggestive contribution to the history of that unhappy reign. Mr. Edwards shows that the key to all the king's troubles and difficulties is to be found in Wales and the Marches. He describes with convincing power the tragedy which ended in the final loss of Welsh independence. We are apt to forget that Edward I conquered Scotland almost as completely as he had conquered Wales. Wallace was hanged; the Bruce was an outcast when Edward died. Of the reign of his weak and amiable son the Scots cannily took advantage. They won back at Bannockburn more than they had lost at Falkirk. Why did not Wales rise after Bannockburn and win back its independence? Mr. Edwards supplies the answer. Welshmen liked Edward of Carnarvon; they ignored his weakness and only remembered his amiability. He had always flattered their national vanity; he had distributed largesse among the bards; he had invariably taken the part of the conquered against the conquerors. Out of personal loyalty and affection, Welshmen let slip an opportunity which was never to recur. For when the genius of Glendower blazed forth in the next century, it was pitted against the military skill of the greatest Captain that ever sat on the English throne.

We have been surprised to find Mr. Edwards guilty of small inaccuracies which the author would characterise as "howlers" in the Oxford Examination Schools. Nest, the daughter of Rhys ap Tewdwr, is stated to have been "wronged by Henry I and then given in marriage to the Castellan of Pembroke" (pp. 71-116). Such a statement might pass without criticism when made by Mr. Baring Gould in *Pabo the Priest*, or even by English historians such as Palgrave and Freeman, but a historian of Wales

should know that the Fitzgeralds were probably the eldest of Nest's brood, while the FitzHenrys were perhaps the youngest (Gir. Cambr., *De rebus a se gestis*, i, pp. 58 *seq.*, and Appx. to Pref. to *Topographia Hibernica*, pp. v, c, ci. Mr. Edwards is equally unfortunate in his references to Nest's progeny. Gerald the Welshman, Nest's grandson, is said to have inherited "his strong likes and dislikes and lovable vanity from a Welsh mother" (p. 106). Gerald's mother was a daughter of Nest by Gerald of Windsor, and was therefore as much Norman as Welsh. The date of Rhys Goch has not been fixed (p. 263), but if one thing is certain about him it is that he flourished much later than Davydd ap Gwilym. We are at a loss to know what warrant Mr. Edwards has for calling Iolo Goch "Old Iolo of the Red Mantle, a chief of Dyffryn Clwyd" (p. 271). There is no evidence to show that Iolo was a "chief" in Dyffryn Clwyd or elsewhere, and the epithet "Coch" was probably a family cognomen, and had no reference to the colour of the poet's mantle. Griffith Vaughan of Caio was not "hanged, drawn, and quartered", but beheaded for avowing his belief in Owen Glendower (p. 274). It is not known where Owen Glendower lies buried; certainly it is incorrect to say that "Owen himself lies probably at Corwen hard by; though there is a tradition that he found a grave at Monnington" (p. 285). There is as much—and as little—authority for the one statement as the other. It is not true to say that "it was rarely that a Welsh-speaking Herbert, &c., ... became judge" in the two and a half centuries following the incorporation of Wales (p. 336). As a fact, the proportion of Welsh-speaking judges in the 17th and 18th centuries was abnormally high. One of them, Vaughan of Trawscoed, became Chief Justice (not Lord Chief Justice, p. 359) of the Common Pleas in the reign of Charles II.

The account given of the trial of Rhys ap Griffith, the grandson of Rhys ap Thomas (on p. 322) teems with minor inaccuracies. After the "affray" at Carmarthen between Rhys and the King's Deputy, Lord Ferrers, the two lords did not "retire to their estates and begin to prepare for a renewal of the struggle." Rhys was kept in prison by Lord Ferrers, and was only released on being summoned to answer for his conduct before the Court of King's Bench at Westminster (*not* the Star Chamber). Rhys's father had not "been too independent", or "paid for his temerity with his head". His father, Sir Griffith ap Rhys, was thoroughly Anglicised. He had been brought up, from his youth upwards, in the English Court, and though he died in his prime, and in the lifetime of his father, he did not fall a victim to the royal Tudor's jealousy. Nor is it quite fair to say of Rhys ap Thomas that he "was thoroughly hated by his weaker neighbours", merely because a Flintshire soldier records some idle gossip against the old Welsh chieftain.

Mr. Edwards seems to suggest (p. 350 *seq.*) that the early Catholic missionaries in Wales were Jesuits. "The Jesuits would appeal to the longing for the old worship that was dying so hard among the mountains." The suggestion is not well-founded. The early Catholic missionaries to England and Wales were secular priests. "In 1583, the Jesuit John Bennett", says Mr. Edwards, "was tortured at Hawarden". In 1583 John Bennett was a secular priest, and it was several years later that, in his exile on the Continent, he joined the Society of Jesus, and he was tortured not at Hawarden but at Bewdley or Ludlow. In fact, the number of Jesuits engaged in the English mission-field in the 16th century is exceedingly small. In the next century they became prominent in Wales, but that was only after they had captured the

English seminaries on the Continent. If Mr. Edwards had gone outside the pages of Foley, he would have found that the martyr, William Davies of Carnarvon, was a secular priest, and that his story was far more worth telling than that of John Bennett or Robert Jones. The Jesuits confined their activity almost altogether, in the reign of Elizabeth, to the field of politics, and paid but little attention to the purely religious side of mission work. The Jesuits were "anti-nationalist", and nearly all the great names among the Welsh Catholics are to be found opposed to them. It is with the fortunes of the revived order of St. Benedict that the names of Welshmen—Augustin Baker, John Roberts and Leander Jones—are indelibly associated.

The account given of the Puritan movement in Wales—a movement which arrested the decay of the Welsh language and, for the first time for centuries, awakened the conscience of Welshmen—is very jejune and inadequate. A good deal is said about Morgan Llwyd's "dreamy mysticism", but not a word is said of Walter Wroth or William Erbury, of Walter Cradock, the founder of the "Cradocians" and the teacher and inspirer of Morgan Llwyd, or of Christopher Love; and even Stephen Hughes, to whom Wales owes a debt which it has lately begun to realise, is only mentioned as an afterthought in connection with the Methodist revival (p. 387).

Equally strange is Mr. Edwards's disproportionate praise of Howell Harries as the leader of the Methodist revival, and his failure even to mention Daniel Rowlands, Llangeitho—a man who laboured in the vineyard when Harries sulked in "Mynachlog fawr Trevecca", and who was probably the most inspired preacher Wales has ever produced (p. 389). It is somewhat startling also to read that the hymns of Ann Griffiths were "caught from her

lips as she sang them at her spinning-wheel" (p. 390). The same gift of exaggeration is seen in the statement that Davydd ap Gwilym was "welcomed in every town throughout Wales" (p. 261); that Glendower once exercised "wider sway" and wielded "greater power even than Llewelyn the Great" (p. 269); and that Islwyn was "the greatest Welsh poet of the present century" (p. 12).

Mr. Edwards has an inconvenient trick of alluding in vague language to people and incidents the ordinary reader has never heard of. The reader of a popular handbook must have been mystified by the unexplained references to Arise Evans (p. 13), Hugh of Chester's "hereditary greed for Welsh land" (p. 48), "Madoc" (p. 71), "Dinas Dinlle" (p. 15), "Rees of perennial youth" (p. 141), "the inhuman punishment of Maelgwn Vychan" (p. 214), "Patrick Sarsfield" (p. 241), "the Welshman Pecock," the nameless "last great Welsh mediæval poet" (p. 267), "Rees Vychan" (p. 191), "Cefnybedd" (p. 192), and "the daring piracy of Henry Morgan" (p. 381). Mr. Edwards has other mannerisms which are the only defects in a fascinating style. He is fond of the romantic manner; "mighty he was" (p. 50-56); "tall and stately was she" (p. 64); "he built him a castle at Talgarth" (p. 55). Occasionally his antitheses become strained. "He bequeathed to his son Cadwaladr a vanishing crown, powerful enemies, and a plague-stricken country" (p. 29); "he left behind a daughter as heiress to a burnt home, a harried land, and an impossible task" (p. 33); "negotiations and the Scotch moved slowly" (p. 369); "casting the future of England to the fortune of battle" (p. 360). Once or twice Mr. Edwards uses curiously infelicitous epithets, as where he applies the adjective "saintly" to Baxter (p. 332). Mr. Baxter wrote a devotional work

called *The Saint's Rest*, but there was nothing otherwise "saintly" in his laborious, fighting, embittered life; and nothing could more erroneously describe William the Conqueror's ruthless march from the Humber to the Tees than to say he "wandered to the North" (p. 45).

Perhaps a somewhat graver fault in a historian of Mr. Edwards's standing is his habit of shallow, but none the less dogmatic, generalisation. Take for instance his description of the influence of a country on the character of its inhabitants (p. 7):—

> "The wild and rugged outlines of the mountains are mirrored as intense but broken purposes in the Welshman's character, always forming great ideals, but lacking in the steady perseverance of the people of the plain. His imagination makes him exceedingly impressionable,—he has always loved poetry and theology: but this very imagination, while enabling him to see great ideals, makes him incapable of realising them,—he is too impatient to be capable of organisation. . . . There is a difference between the slow and strong man of Snowdon and the versatile laughter-loving son of Plinlimmon."

This passage displays at once the strength and weakness, the beauty and defect, of Mr. Edwards's style and manner. It is charmingly written, but it is full of unsafe generalisations and inaccurate observation. It is an old reproach that Welshmen are "incapable of organisation". But who can read the history of Welsh Nonconformity, of the Eisteddfod, or of Welsh education, without realising that Welshmen can not only "form great ideals", but can by steady perseverance realise them? Or who can observe the marvellous industrial development that has taken place in the Principality during the last half century without feeling that all this fine talk about "the broken purposes" of the Welshman, and his impatience of organisation, is so much picturesque nonsense? The truer conception

of the basis of national character has been given by Mr. Lecky (*History of England*, vol. ii, p. 320) :—

> "The character of large bodies of men depends in the main upon the circumstances in which they have been placed, the laws by which they have been governed, the principles they have been taught. When these are changed the character will alter too."

The mountains of Wales remain the same to-day as in the days of Glendower and Llewelyn ; but the character of Welshmen has been profoundly modified by the discipline of war and conquest, of alien laws and Anglican civilisation, of Calvinistic theology and educational zeal, of free institutions and industrial prosperity.

We have thought it our duty—however hazardous and ungrateful the task—to dwell at some length on the flaws which mar the perfection of Mr. Edwards's work. But when all is said and done, we yield to none in our admiration for the real triumph he has achieved. He has told the story of Wales for the first time in an interesting and intelligible manner to the stranger. He has breathed new life and meaning into the old story of purposeless strife and warfare. He has made many an old-world hero live again in his vivid pages. He has not been content with giving us a Chronicle of the Princes, but he has attempted, for the first time and not without success, to tell the story of the Welsh people. He has presented us with a portrait gallery full of exquisite pictures,—of prince and bard, of priest and preacher, of Catholic Saints and Protestant heroes. His sympathy has ever been fresh and spontaneous ; he has been quick to appreciate all good men, however distorted their views or erring their aims, who strove according to their lights to serve Wales. It is this wide outlook and catholic sympathy with all that is best and noblest in Welsh life and story that gives to Mr. Edwards's

book its chiefest charm and power. We shall have, we doubt not, a fuller and more accurate history of Wales and its people in the coming years: we are certain we shall never have one informed with more delicate sympathy or told with subtler grace.

W. LLEWELYN WILLIAMS.

OWEN GLYNDWR: and the Last Struggle for Welsh Independence. By Arthur Granville Bradley. London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1901.

ALL lovers of Wales and its history are deeply indebted to Mr. Bradley for the very readable and entertaining life of Owen Glyndwr which he has brought within their reach. Mr. Wylie's great work on Henry IV is so expensive, that very few, except those who happen to live near Public Libraries, have been able to read it. The moderate cost of "Owen Glyndwr" will bring it within the reach of all. Mr. Bradley, unlike Mr. Wylie, has made of Sir Owen a hero for himself, and gives the story of his wonderful career without any prejudice in favour of King Henry IV, who, whatever may have been his talents, showed only the most contemptible incompetence in all his dealings with Wales and his Welsh subjects. Mr. Bradley's style is clear and forcible, and sometimes he rises to eloquence. He knows Wales from end to end, and must have been a lover of its beautiful scenery before he became a student of its history. Readers of the book will do well to make notes of "special bits" which the author describes so

charmingly. But Mr. Bradley does not make his theme subservient to geography; his descriptions of places always serve to give life and interest to his narrative, and help, just as dates do, to fix the story in the reader's mind.

The book reviews the whole of Welsh history; it begins with the coming of the Romans, and ends with the rise of Methodism. We think it would have been better to begin with the Norman Conquest, and to point out clearly the radical difference between its effects in England and Wales. In England, the Norman kings checked the growth of feudalism. In Wales, the Normans superimposed a feudal *régime* upon a system of tribal government. In the 13th century the Princes of Gwynedd attempted to do in Wales what the sons of Alfred did in England in the 10th century. They might have succeeded had not the privileged Anglo-Normans the whole power of the Crown of England behind them. Edward I saw that it was vital to the security of England to overthrow the representatives of Welsh national unity. His conquest of Wales completed the work of the Normans, and introduced little that was new to Wales into the government of the Principality. Welshmen could see before their eyes a people free from the tyranny of alien lords, by their alliance with the Crown, but were doomed to feudal misgovernment, till a king arose who should do for Wales what William the Norman had done for England. In spite of the long introductory chapter, a fourth of the whole book, we do not think Mr. Bradley has made these things quite clear.

Again, we do not think that Mr. Bradley has given Sir Owen, in spite of his admiration for his hero, an adequate place in history. From the narrative, his chief title to fame seems to be the number of his slain enemies, and

the desolation of their lands. He is said to have planned schemes which came to naught, and that his rebellion made Wales more miserable during the 15th century than she had been in the preceding one. In one place Mr. Bradley does tell us something, but he does not, we think, follow out his discovery to its logical conclusion. Sir Owen linked the fortunes of the Welsh Nationalist Party with those of the House of York. Therefore the Wars of the Roses, as far as the West is concerned, were in a large degree a continuation of the struggle commenced by Sir Owen. That Welshmen who enjoyed Marcher privileges fought on the Lancastrian side only serves to emphasise the fact that the unprivileged joined the House of York. Important as this is, Sir Owen did more, he so shattered the strength of the Lords Marchers that they never recovered the position they held before 1399. His hand was heavy on the towns and the castles of the Anglo-Normans. The 15th century was an age of decay, and we know that the towns of Wales were in a bad way in Henry VIII's time. The Flemings, of Pembrokeshire, also failed to become an aggressive force after Sir Owen's devastation of that county. In the next century many thousands of Irishmen settled in South Pembrokeshire, a thing which could not have been done if it had recovered from the ravages of Sir Owen's days.

In the reign of Edward IV Welshmen were the most prominent figures in Wales; such were the Herberts, and the family of Sir Rhys ap Thomas. When a Herbert became Earl of Pembroke the old Anglo-Normans are said to have turned in their graves. Their rest would not have been disturbed had not Sir Owen swept away their descendants. We may conclude, therefore, that Owen Glyndwr broke the power of the Englishry in Wales, and made the support of the national party essential to one or other of

the English factions. These were the causes that put Henry VII upon the throne of England. That Henry was a Tudor was an accident, in the same sense as it is an accident that any man bears the name of his father; that he came to be King of England, was the result of deliberate policy. Edward IV was secure on the throne, because he had the support of the Welsh, but when Henry of Richmond came, not only as a Lancastrian, but also as the descendant of the Tudors of Penmynydd, he united Wales and overthrew Richard, whose throne was undermined when the county of Pembroke was given to a Herbert.

Mr. Bradley thinks the 15th century one of misery for Wales, because of the pressure of the Lancastrian Coercion Acts. There can be no doubt that they look formidable enough. It is, however, quite clear that Parliament when it passed them was acting *ultra vires*, Wales being outside its sphere of influence, and it is more than probable that they suffered the usual fate of such measures. They bear witness to the panic of the English Parliament rather than to the hardships of the Welsh in the 15th century. The attempts of Parliament to re-organise the government of Wales are at once a proof that the day of feudal government was over, and that some readjustment of the relations between England and Wales must be found.

Mr. Bradley draws attention to the disorder and anarchy in Wales during the 15th century. These things were not peculiar to Wales. It is a commonplace that the anarchy which afflicted England during the same period was the cause of the fall of the Houses of Lancaster and York. There is no need to repeat here what the late Bishop of Oxford says about the "lack of governance" in England. I have mentioned this because Froude does

the same thing as Mr. Bradley, citing the reports of Bishop Lee, President of the Council of Wales. Froude, however, omits to tell his readers that Lee reports more murders in Cheshire alone than in the whole of Wales for a given period.

Mr. Bradley is not quite free from "Teutonic" prejudices in discussing the history of the Welsh Princes, and their mutual wars and murders. Gavelkind doubtless accounts for many of these murders, but they are not peculiar to Wales and her factions any more than disorder is peculiar to Wales in the 15th and 16th centuries. The history of the Kings of England in the 14th and 15th centuries is quite as revolting, and if we could foreshorten the events of those centuries, as time foreshortens the earlier ages for us, their history would be little else than murders and rebellions. Edward II was murdered by his wife's paramour; Richard II was murdered by his cousin, who in his turn only managed to keep himself from death by the utmost vigilance. Plots were formed against Henry V; Henry VI and his son were murdered. Richard II murdered both his nephews, and in turn fell before the sword of his enemies.

Both English and Welsh writers have striven after the odd in Welsh history, and seem quite disinclined to find the same causes producing the same results in Wales as in England. English history has suffered very much because of this, for it is impossible to isolate two-thirds of Southern Britain, and write their history as if the other third did not exist. Welsh history has suffered still more, and has no unity as it is now presented. Owen Glyndwr's movement has been hitherto without cause and without result; we are indebted to Mr. Bradley for showing that he has a real meaning, not only in Welsh, but in British history. If what has been said above is right, the

tradition which regards Owen Glyndwr as the national hero is right also.

T. STANLEY ROBERTS.

Peterhouse, Cambridge.

LA METRIQUE GALLOISE. Par J. Loth. Tome I. Paris: Ancienne Librairie Thorin et Fils, 4, Rue le Goff.

THIS first of two volumes on *Welsh Metres* reaches to a little over 400 pages (xiii + 388). Even as it is, it is of considerable interest, but the interest of it would have been much increased were it more minutely accurate. Every one that has tried to master the rules of Welsh *cynghanedd*, and then attempted to practise them, knows how many pitfalls there are, hidden at first view but evident enough after having been extricated from them. Unfortunately these very pitfalls M. Loth has not been skilful enough to avoid. In this matter, an hour with a real master of *cynghanedd* would have been worth weeks of mere book-work: *solvitur ambulando.* We much regret an opportunity missed; the chance of initiating the outsider in the mysteries of our *ars poetica* is for the moment gone. The expert alone will be able to make use of the material brought together in this volume—and, as a consequence, in the second volume also, we fear. For how can there be an accurate historical treatment of inaccurate matter? It would be well if the author made sure of the rules first, and then provided us with a historical grammar of them.

[Those who wish to see a capable discussion (and trenchant withal) of the whole subject of the volume will

find it in the *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie,* vol. iv, part i. The article (of nearly 40 pages) is in English, and is written by Prof. J. Morris Jones, M.A.]

H. Elvet Lewis.

LES INFLUENCES CELTIQUES. Par Charles Roessler. Paris: 1901.

A volume of 102 pp. It forms another link in the chain of evidence for the character and influence of Celtic Art in the immediate pre-Christian centuries. The author has brought together a good deal of scattered material, and treated it with some skill. He holds that the period fixed as the probable date of "the ancient pacific civilisation of the Celts"—viz., the 6th century B.C.—is rather the close of a period still more ancient, and wide-reaching in its influence. There are eight plates, with illustrations from medals, pottery, engraved stones, MSS., &c.

H. Elvet Lewis.

G. Simpson, Printer, Devizes.

The Cymmrodorion Record Series.

NOTICE.

"The Black Book of St. David's."

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THE BLACK BOOK OF ST. DAVID'S, which forms No. 5 of the Cymmrodorion Record Series, and which is now ready for issue, is a most valuable mine of material for the history of South Wales during the first half of the 14th century. It gives the names of all the Tenants of the Episcopal lands belonging to St. David's, the amount of rent each paid, the services and customs in each place, and their value.

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As a record of the Place-names of the different localities it is of very great importance, and it also throws some light on the Welsh personal names of the time. It has also a very important bearing on the status and condition of the people, particularly of the Clergy, in the 14th century.—[V.E.]

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